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THE MONGOL MANUSCRIPTS AND XYLOGRAPHS OF THE BELGIAN SCHEUT-MISSION

by

WALTHER HEISSIG

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INTRODUCTION

The Catholic Fathers of the Immaculate Heart Mission (C.I.C.M.) of Scheut, Belgium, have been engaged in active missionary work among the Mongols since 1865, mainly in the districts of Tsakhar and Ordos, Innermongolia.¹ In the course of this time they have acquired a number of Mongol manuscripts and xylographs of which 51 at present are preserved at the Seminary of Missions, 13, Rue de Flamands, Louvain, the University Library Louvain, and at the Museum of the Seminary, 476, Chaussée de Ninove, Scheut-Brussels. I have to express my gratitude to the authorities of these institutions for permitting me to use and describe these Mongol works. Particularly I have to thank Reverend Jos. Mullie and Rev. Jos. Rondelez, Louvain, as well as Rev. Val. Rondelez, Scheut.

The located 51 Mongol xylographs and manuscripts form a valuable addition to our knowledge of Mongol literature; 25 of them are described here for the first time. The works can be classified as follows:

- I. Lamaist canonical works: 12 items;
- II. Extra-canonical works: 24 items;
- III. Popular religious beliefs: 3 items;
- IV. Divination: 7 items;
- V. Narratives and epics: 4 items.
- VI. Catholic instruction: 1 item.

9 xylographs are Peking xylographs described in my book on this subject² as Nos. 9, 13, 15, 27, 67, 169, 172, 177. 5 of the remaining xylographs are,

¹ A history of their zealous efforts is to be found in J. van Hecken, C.I.C.M., *Les Missions chez les Mongols aux Temps Modernes* (Peiping, Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1949), 46-219.

² *Die Peking-er lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache* (= *Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*, Bd. 2), (Wiesbaden, 1954).

however, additions to the amount of lamaist xylographs from Peking described so far; if added in the sequence of this book these new xylographs should be numbered as Nos. 4a, 8a, 9a, 72a and 182 a. The numbers 10a, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 22, 24a, 26, 27, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40 and 41 formed the handlibrary of a lama in Tsakhar and have been bought by the Rev. J. Mullie.

Some of the manuscripts (Nos. 17 and 18) add to our knowledge about the time of activity of the famous translator at the decline of the 16th century, the *Siregetü guosi čorji* of Kōke khota. Of particular interest is a new version of the Geser Khan-epic (No. 36) which shows all particularities of an autochtone Mongol composition.

DESCRIPTION

I. CANONICAL WORKS:

- (1) *Qutuytu pancaraksa kemekü tabun sakiyan neretü yeke kölgen sudur*
(= Kandjur, vol. 14; Ligeti, *Catalogue*, Nos. 182–184).

Peking xylograph, not dated (cf. *Blockdrucke*, No. 9; Farquhar, No. 21, further literature there).

Louvain, Seminary (Rev. J. Mullie).

- (2) *Qutuy tu bancaragsa kemekü tabun sakiyan neretü yeke kölgen sudur orusiba*

(= Kandjur, vol. 14; Ligeti, *Catalogue*, Nos. 182–184).

Peking xylograph, 149 fol., approx. 54 : 18 (47 : 14) cm, 25 lines; 1 v. printed in blue and red, fol. 2 r. printed in black and red.

Blocksignatures left: 月 *yüeh* 36 fol. + 盛 *sheng* 46 fol. + 現 *hsien* 32 fol. + 弘 *hung* 17 fol. + 圖 *t'u* 13 fol.

Not dated.

Terminatur: V, 13 v. . . *amuṡulang-yin üiles anu öber-iyen бүтүкү болтуyai. tegüsbe*. Text, size and colophon the same as in the Peking xylograph of K'ang-hsi 25, 1686/VIII, 15 (*Blockdrucke*, No. 9; P. Aalto, "Notes on the Collection of Mongolian Books etc." *Etnos*, XV [1950], 3; *A Catalogue of the Hedin Collection of Mongolian Literature*, [Stockholm, 1953], 100–101). This edition has not been mentioned otherwise.³ To be added as No. 9a in the sequence of '*Blockdrucke*'.

Louvain, Seminary.

³ Another copy has to be reported from the Museum of Ethnology (Museum für Völkerkunde), Berlin-Dahlem.

(3) *Qutuy-tu degedü yekede tonilyayči neretü sudur*(= Kandjur, vol. 83; Ligeti, *Catalogue*, No. 1021).

Peking xylograph, 104 fol., approx. 48,5 : 17,5 (46 : 13) cm, 25 lines, 3 parts, marked Tib. ga, 32 fol. + Tib. k'a, 35 fol. + Tib. ka, 37 fol. Col. (Ka, 37 r.):... *kun dga odzer kemekü kelemeči. dayidu-yin darumal sudur-ača mongγolčılan orčiγulbai.* + Benediction.⁴ Egüride gegeni orun-a sayuysan rgyal ba cungdui qoyayula keb bütügesügei kemekü-yin tulada.

Erigseger wang oboy-tu⁵ -yi olju sayin bayši-dur öggün...⁶ ...lju keb-tür seyilgeged.

Egenegte...⁷ jaya bandida gegen-e...sitügsen-ü kücün-iyer.

Egün-i nayiral tu töb-ün doluduyar on...terigün sara-yin... edür-e...* (seyil)gebe.

Dated Yung-cheng 7, 1729/I. With the above colophon the xylograph has not been mentioned before. It is to be added as No. 72a in the sequence of *Blockdrucke*.

Louvain, Univ. Library.

(4) *Qutuytu degedü altan gereltü erketü sudur nuγud-un qayan orusiba*
(= Kandjur, vol. 13; Ligeti, *Catalogue*, Nr. 177).

Peking xylograph, 220 fol., approx. 54 : 18 (48 : 14) cm, 26 lines, 11 *keseg* (!), illustr. backleaf.

Blocksignatures left: 財 *ts'ai* 21 fol. + 源 *yüan* 23 fol. + 茂 *mao*? 21 fol. + 盛 *sheng* 21 fol. + 川 *ch'uan* 22 fol. + 流 *liu* 26 fol. + 不 *pu* 18 fol. + 息 *hsi* 14 fol. + 大 *ta* 8 fol. + 吉 *chi* 26 fol. + 利 *li* 20 fol.

Terminatur: ... *qutuy olqu boltuyai.*

Col. (only date): *Dayičing ulus-un engke amuyulang-un dötüger on-u. kökegčün moyai jil-ün namur-un terigün sara-yin sine-yin doluyan-a sayin edür ekilejü. mön jil-ün namur-un ečüs sara-yin qorin tabun-a tegüskebei* – "It was begun on the 7th, a propitious day at the beginning of the first autumn-moon of the blueish snake-year, the fourth year K'ang-hsi of the Great Ch'ing-Dynasty; finished on the 25 of the autumn end-moon of the same year" e.g. 1665/VII, 7 – 1665/IX, 25.

⁴ Until here the colophon is identical with the colophon in the Peking xylographs of the same work of 1650, 1708, 1711 and in the Mongol Kandjur, vol. 83, 314 v.

⁵ For a blockcutting-firm of this name cf. *Blockdrucke*, 4.

⁶ Vacat.

⁷ Vacat.

This xylograph confirms my assumption⁸ based on the existence of a Ms. of the same date in the Ethn. Museum Gothenburg,⁹ that a xylograph of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* has been produced in 1665/ IX. It is to be added as No. 4a in the sequence of *Blockdrucke*.

Louvain, Seminary.

Collected at Boro Balghasun (Lin-Tung, Manchuria).

- (5) *Qutuy-tu degedü altan gerel tü erketü sudur nuγud-un qayan orusiba*
Peking xylograph, 224 fol., 50 : 10 (46 : 7, 3) cm, 37 lines.

(*Blockdrucke*, No. 177; Farquhar, 10).

Scheut.

- (5a) *Qutuy-tu degedü altan gerel-tü erketü sudur nuγud-un qayan neretü yeke kölgen sudur*

Peking xylograph, 235 fol., approx. 61:21 (46:14) cm, 25 lines, 10 *keseg*.

(*Blockdrucke*, No. 57; Aalto, *Catalogue*, H 63).

Louvain, University Library.

- (6) *Bilig-ün činadu kiṣayar-a kürügsen oytaḷuyči včir qutuy-un mör tuyulaqui neretü yeke kölgen sudur*

Peking xylograph, 25 fol., approx. 17, 5 : 52 (13, 4: 45) cm, 27 lines.

Blocksignature left r.: 招 *chao*; v.: ḡḡodba.

Cf. *Blockdrucke*, No. 172; further m. "A Description of the Mongol. Manuscripts in the University Library Oslo," *Acta Orientalia*, XXIII.

Louvain, Seminary.

- (7) *Qutuytu včir-iyar oytaḷuyči neretü yeke kölgen sudur orusiba*

Peking xylograph, 102 fol., approx. 23,5 : 8,5 (20 : 5,6) cm, 14 lines.

Blocksignature right: 招 *chao*.

(*Blockdrucke* No. 169).

Louvain, Seminary.

⁸ *Blockdrucke*, 10.

⁹ P. Aalto, "Notes on the Collection of Mongolian Books in the Ethn. Museum of Sweden," *Ethnos*, XV (1950), 5-11; "Notes on the Altan gerel," *Stud. Or. Fenn.*, XIV (1950), 6, 6-11.

- (8) *Üliger-ün dalai-yin sudur orusiba*
 (= Kandjur, vol. 90; Ligeti, *Catalogue*, No. 1103).
 Peking xylograph, 230 fol., 57 : 21,7 (52 : 17) cm, 31 lines.
 (Blockdrucke, Nr. 27; Farquhar, No. 62).¹⁰
 Louvain, Seminary.¹¹
- (9) *Qutuytu čayan sikiür-tei busuda ülü ilaydaqu yekede qariyuluyči degedü bütiügsen neretü tarmi*
 (= Kandjur, vol. 14; Ligeti, *Catalogue*, No. 208).¹²
 Manuscript, middle size, 9 fol.
 Without colophone and date.
 Louvain, Seminary.
- (10) *Čoytu itegel qutuytu nagažuna-yin žokiyaysan ülemži irüger-ün sadu orusibai*
 (= Tib. Tandjur, sde dge-edition, vol. 128; UI, No. 4387)
 Tib.-Mong. Peking xylograph, 14 fol.
 (Blockdrucke, No. 112.)
 Louvain, Seminary.
- (10a) *Čindamani erike orusiba* ("Rosary of Wishingstone") Ms., incomplete, only fol. 1,38, 7:7,5 cm, 28 lines.
 Incipit: *Enedkeg-ün keleber bodisadu mani abali* (Skr. Bodhisattva-maṇyāvalī). *töbed-ün keleber. byang čub sems dbši norbu bringba* (Tib. byaṅ č'ub sems dpa'i nor bu'i p'reṅ ba). *mongyol-un keleber bodisadu-yin čindamanyi erike. yeke nigülesügči-de mörgümü...*
 (= Tib. Tandjur, sde dge-edition; UI, No. 3951)
 For another Mong. translation cf. P. Aalto, *Catalogue of the Hedin Collection*, 91, No. H 3581.
 Louvain, University Library.

II. EXTRA-CANONICAL WORKS:

- (11) *Čayan mahagala orusiba* ("White Mahākāla [-Sūtra])
 Ms., 9 fol. approx. 24, 5 : 8 cm, 17 lines.
 Incipit: *Om bažar amčita...*
 Terminatur: *... bolqu minu boltuyai.*
 Cf. a similar work Farquhar, No. 26 (11).
 Louvain, University Library.

¹⁰ Cf. further W. Baruch, "Le Cinquante-deuxième chapitre du mJaṅs-blun (Sūtra du Sage et du fou)," *JA*, CCXLIII, 1955, 339-366.

¹¹ Another fragmentary copy at Scheut.

¹² For a xylograph, cf. Farquhar, No. 15.

(12) *Dhara eke-yin sang* ("Incense-Offering to Mother Tārā")

Ms., 4 fol. approx. 22,7 : 8 cm, 17 lines.

Incipit: *Namo guru getülgegči seng ldeng oi-yin dara eke-dür sitüjü bsang talbiqui-a...* "When performing the incense-offering in veneration of the liberator, mother Tārā of the señ ldeñ -woods¹³...

Terminatur (3 v.):... *buyan ögtügei*.

Col. (4 r.): *šasin-u öglige-yin ejin qorčin-u darqan čin wang efü blo bzang sgova buyan gege. qoyayula-yin sedkil-degen tayalaysan-dur sitüjü siregetü kemekü bičin üiledügsen-iyer ene jüg-ün orun-dur öljei qutuy-un sayin buyan tasural ügei tügemel delgerekü boltuyai manghalam* – "Be the merits of happiness fully developed in a ceaseless flow for this district by having this (book) composed by *Siregetü* in paying honour to those who had so desired in their hearts: the two benefactors, the imperial son-in law Darkhan Tsin wang blo bzañ sgova (?) of the Khortsin and his spouse *Buyan*. Manghalam!"

A ritual for the offering to Khadiravani Tārā, a deity whose sādhana is contained only in the Tandjur.¹⁴ The instigating benefactors, *Darqan čin wang* blo bzañ sgova? and his wife, an imperial princess, are attested as contemporaries of the 1st lČaṅ skya Khutukhtu of Peking naḡ dbaṅ blo bzañ č'os ldan (*1714).¹⁵

Louvain, University Library.

(13) *Ilayuyči eke qutuytai getülgegči eke-yin qorin nigen mörgül orusiba*

Tib.-Mong. Peking xylograph, approx. 22 : 7,8 (11,5 : 5) cm, 26 fol., 2 horizontal lines Tibetan and Mongol on each page.

The work is known as Ms.¹⁶ as well as a bilingual Peking xylograph in the form of a folded book with slightly varying title.¹⁷ According to the style of its letters the above xylograph belongs to the late K'ienlung -period and is to be added in the sequence of *Blockdrucke* as No. 182 a.

Louvain, Seminary (Rev. J. Mullie).

¹³ señ ldeñ nags kyi sgrol ma, Skr. Khadiravani-Tārā, cf. Chu-fo p'u-sa sheng-hsiang-tsan, edit. W. E. Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons* (1937), 277, No. 206 (*qadara oi-yin dhara eke*).

¹⁴ *Tohoku-Catalogue*, 3338, 3482, 3664.

¹⁵ Cf. the biography of the 1st lČaṅ skya *Boyda vagindara sumadī dharma vati śrī bhadra-yin čadig subud erike kemekü* (*Blockdrucke*, No. 73), 79 r.

¹⁶ State Library Ulaanbaatar, REL 324-312; there marked: Translation from the Tibetan.

¹⁷ *Ilayuyśan qutuy tai dara eke-yin qorin nigen mörgül*, cf. *Blockdrucke*, No. 182; Farquhar, No. 34.

- (14) (**Qoyadıyar burqan určan badma sambu-a šabınar-lıya seltes-ün jalbarıl*)¹⁸

Title missing.

Tib.-Mong. xylograph, folded book, 90 fol. (180 pages), approx. 33 : 11 (30 : 11) cm, 3 lines. Left margin: Tibetan and Mongol pagination; right margin: Chinese pagination.

1 fol. v. middle: portrait of Padma sambhava.

Incipit: *guru namo. ere ɣal morin jıl-ün bus sara-dur. sedkisi ügei čoytu süme-dür ayui yeke čiyulyan-u takil-i üiledküi čay-tur. yeke bayısi badma sambhaua-dur. oɣtaray-yin jırüken. ayay-a tegimlig kiged. kri srong ldeb bcan qayan ba...* "Praise to the teacher! When in the twelfth month of the male fire-horse year (766)¹⁹ at the time of performing the offering of the very great assemble in the Uncomprehensibly illustrious Temple²⁰ the monk *Oɣtaray-yin jırüken*²¹ and the king *kri sroñ lde bcan* ... to the master Padmasambhava ..."

Terminatur (89v.): ... *bodi qutuy-tur oruqu boltuyai.*

Col. (89v.): *kemen qoyadıyar burqan určan badma sambu-a šabınar-lıya seltes-ün jalbarıl-i blobzang mtustobs qayan-u tayalal metü tegüs qubitu qotala tegüsügen tib-tür seyilügen keb-ün segül-tür zahor-un bandi ber nayıraɣulıysan-u bičigeči inu 'byong rgyas lkog ba punčogs dang bo-bar üiledbei. cavandu. nom-un aɣar-ača toɣolasi ügei qubilaɣu. nom-un yeke tib-tür mön kü jalbarıquı jalbarıl egiüni. nom-un sang-dur tegsi-dayan surulčayči gingse (9or.) čin wang. nom-un nere anu buddha guru rjal kemegči. nom-un öglige arbidqaqu-yin tula kebtür bütüegesen-ü buyan-ıyar nom-un qayan dededü efen-ü ölmei batu boluyad. nom-un dovaɣa -i sansar-un üjügür-e bayıyulıysan-u ölmei -ber. nom törü önide orusin jüg bükün engke amur atuyai.*

Sanskrit formula.

"... 'Pyoñ rgyas lkog ba p'un c'ogs dañ po acted as scribe of this composed by the Zahor bande²² for the ending of the printingblocks (of) the "Prayer of the Second Buddha Padmasambhava of U rgyan together with his disciples" which Blo bzañ mtu stobs had – upon

¹⁸ Reconstructed according to the colophon.

¹⁹ As, however, the temple of bsam yas (see lower footnote) is mentioned in connection with this date it is to be assumed that the date should read correctly *ere ɣal taulai jıl* – "male fire-hare year" e.g. 787, the year bsam yas was founded by Kri sroñ lde bcan (755–797) (cf. L. Petech, *A study on the Chronicles of Ladakh* [Calcutta, 1939], 70).

²⁰ Tib.: *dPal bsam yas su čogs kyi*

²¹ *Ākāśagarba*; cf. Kowalewski, *Dict.*, I, 433a.

²² The secret name of the 5th Dalai Lama *ñag dbañ blo bzañ rgya mc'o* (1618–1682).

the wish of the emperor – cut into printingblocks at the dgel..
dan p'un c'ogs gliñ.

May the foot of the Dharmaraja, the Emperor, become firm

By the virtue that Keñ ze čin wang

Who studies in the library with all his faculties

and is called by his religious name Guru rcal

Had prepared in printing blocks,

Because of multiplying the spiritual alms,

This prayer, now to be prayed in the great country of religion,

Which had been transformed from the abode of unaccountable faith.

By the grace of having erected the banner of faith at the top of this
material world

Be the reign of the religion installed for ever,

Be peace and happiness everywhere!"

A prayer ascribed to Padmasambhava with a postface written by the 5th Dalai Lama on the occasion of cutting the printing-blocks for a Tibetan edition. The bilingual edition was instigated (by the 17th son of the Manchu-emperor K'ang-hsi, Prince Kuo (1697–1738)²³ who 1734–35 was sent on a mission to the 7th Dalai Lama²⁴ and was himself a serious student as well as a patron of Lamaism.²⁵

Louvain, Seminary.

(15) *Včir saduva-yin bisilyal*²⁶ *üiledküi yosun orusiba*

("How to perform the contemplative recitation of Vajrasattva")

Ms., 30 fol., approx. 24,5 : 7,7 (24,5 : 5,5) cm, 15 lines.

Incipit: *Analadun örüsiyekü-yin ečüs -tür küřčü. . .*

Term. (29v):...*kemekü egüni anu sanvar-i kečiyegči nom-dur durasiyad teyin sinjilel ayuu dge cul 'jigs med rdo rje -ber duradqaysan-u aldar ebügen bandi vagindra sumadidharma (30 r.) vati sri bhadra-bar doluyan naγurun yeke süme-dür nayirayuluγsan -u bičigeči anu masi ketürkei yool yosun-dur teyin sinjilel ayuu boluγad. ĵiruqai-yin uqayan-dur suduluγsan rab 'byams ba kemen ügülegči qubilγan čos*

²³ Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, I, 331.

²⁴ L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th Century* (Leiden, 1950), 157.

²⁵ He had translated many Tibetan works into Mongol and instigated and financed a number of Mongol xylographs printed in Peking (*Blockdrucke*, 64 sq.). Parts of his lamaist library in Tibetan language but with titles translated by himself into Mongol are kept at the Royal Library Copenhagen. Another set of 34 Mongol works bearing his seal is in the Univ. Library Cambridge (friendly communication by C. R. Bawden).

²⁶ Skr. djapa.

Idan rgya mco bolui – “The incarnation Č’os Idan rgya me’o called rab ’byams pa well studied in the astronomical science who has been scrupulously examining the most supreme main-teachings was the scribe of this (work) which has been composed by the famous old monk Vāgindra sumati dharmavati śrī bhadra at the great Dolonor-monastery upon the demand of the very scrupulous dge c’ul ’Jigs med rdo rje who keeps the vows and desires religious instruction!” Mongol translation of a work by the 1st Peking lČaṅ skya Khutukhtu ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ č’os Idan (1642–1714), copied from vol. VII of his Collected Works, 258 r.–267 v.²⁷
Louvain, Univ. Library.

- (16) *Čayan dara eke* (“White Mother Tārā”)
Ms., 5 fol., approx. 19 : 7 cm.
Cf. *Blockdrucke*, No. 197.
Louvain, Univ. Library.
- (17) *Noṣuṣan dara orusiba* (“There begins [the prayer to] the Green Tārā”)
Ms., 17 fol., approx. 19 : 8 cm.
Cf. *Blockdrucke*, No. 198.
Louvain, Univ. Library.
- (18) *Čayan sikürtei-yin maytaṣal qarayul-un sudur orusiba* (“Laudation of the one with the White Parasol, Guardiansūtra”)
Ms., 9 fol., approx. 21 : 8 (17 : 5) cm, 13 lines.
Incipit: *Doluṣan költei ilayuyṣan kiged qutuy tan-u nökör-iyer...*
Term. (9 r.):... *degedü čayan sikürtei-yin qutuy orusituyai. manghalam.*
Louvain, Univ. Library.
- (19) *Yeke čoytu včir ayuṣuluyčī-yin egüskeküyin ṣerge orusiba* (“[Ritual of] the Initiationsgrade of Sri Vajrabhairava”)
Ms., 101 fol., approx. 26,5:8 (21,4:5,7) cm, 22 lines, calamus-written.
Incipit: *Blama kiged itegel manjusiri-dur mörgümü. yeke čoytu včir ayuṣuluyčī-yin egüskeküyin ṣerge anu...*
Col. (101 r.):... *čorṣiba orčiyululya.*

²⁷ Mus. Guimet, Paris; Hist. Mus. Bern, Mong. 60; for this Mongol edition of 1727 cf. *Blockdrucke*, No. 69.

*ene buyan-u auya küčün-iyer.*²⁸
emgeg tü orčilang-ača tonilažu
erdeni-yin tib-tür odun kürčü.
erketü burqan-u qutuy-i oltoyai.
oyun-dur iyan toytaqu ken egüni medebesü.
olan tandaris-un udqas-i. todorqai-a medeged.
ülemji qoyar jerge-yin ongyoča -dur orožu.
ülesi ügei erdeni-yin tib-tür kürkü boltuyai.
üsüg üd-i masi sayitur ariyun-a.
Oyutu lori bandi sirab bandi qoyayula
onužu masi sayitur bičigsen-iyer.
oyun bilig anu masi yekede delgeretügei kemen.
urida ere yaqai jil-dür delgerenggiü-e
*orčiyulıysan-ača. edüge tobči udqas-i medesügei kemen.*²⁹
köke eme taulai jil-ün qabur qoyar sarayin bedegün-e biči (n)
tegüsbe.

“(Paṇḍita guosi) čos rje pa³⁰ translated this.
 May by the power of this merit,
 When redeemed from this world of pain and
 Arriving at the region of the jewel,
 Be found the blessing of the mighty Buddha.
 He, who knows to establish this in his memory
 Will know clearly the meaning of all Tantras;
 Entering the vehicle of the two extreme grades
 He may reach the region of the incomparable jewel!
 The letters have been designed very well and faultless

²⁸ The same phraseology has been used in the colophon of another work, *Čoytu belge bilig-ün idam jırıyuan yar tu nom-un qayan nügüd selte-yin ilerkei onol qangyal maytayal utuyal-luya selte orusiba*, Tib. – Mong. bilingual Ms., Bibl. Nat. Paris, Fonds Tibetain No. 460 (cf. CAJ, I [1955], 281) which was translated by Paṇḍita guosi čorji and written by the same two scribes: (28 v.) *ene buyan-u yeke auya küčün-iyer. egüride orusituyai šasin erdeni...* as well as at the end: *öljei ene buyan-u auya küčün-iyer utuyulju degedü qutuy türgen-e olqu boltuyai*. For the phraseological use of these words testifies f.i. the calmuk text *Yertencüyin toli kemekü orosibo* (Coll. Asch, Göttingen, No. 111/3) 28 r. (colophon) ... *ene metü üiledügsen buyani auya küčün-iyer...*

²⁹ The same lines have been used in the colophon of *Čoytu vör ayuıuluyçı yaman-dagayin čoy jıbqulangtan egüskeküyin jerge* (Ms., Royal Library Copenhagen; cf. CAJ, I [1955], 281; UAJb, XXVI [1954], 111), another translation by Paṇḍita siregetü guosi čorji and written and reedited by the two scribes *Oyutu luri* and *Sira bande* in the *usun eme moyai jil-ün jun-u dumdatu sarayin sineyin tabun-du* – “The middle month of summer at the 5th day, in the year of the female water-snake.”

³⁰ About this particle pa cf. B. Ya. Vladimircov, “Nădpisi na skalakh khalkhaskogo Tsoktu taidzi,” *Izv. A.N.SSSR*, 1927, 222.

by Oyutu luri bande and Sira bande, these two,
 Who said that by their writing be
 Wisdom spread greatly!³¹ Saying
 That now the concise meaning shall be known of
 This which had been translated earlier in the male hog-year,
 Writing was finished on the 30th day of the second spring-moon of
 the female blue-hare-year.”

The sexagenary-cycle includes no male hog-year. Because of this the reading *ere yaqai jil* is to be corrected into *eme yaqai jil* – “female hog-year”. This is corroborated by the colophon of the above mentioned other Yamāntaka-Utpannakrama, *Čoytu včir ayuyluyčei yamandagayin čoy jibqulangtan egüskeküyin jerge*,³² translated by *Siregetü guosi čorji* in the *eme yaqai jil* – “female hog-year” too.³³ Considering the time of possible activity of the Paṇḍita *siregetü guosi čorji* in Kuei-hua (Köke khota) and other places of Southern Mongolia,³⁴ the *eme yaqai jil* in question could have either been 1587, “the year of the hog when the Holy Dalai Lama (was) in the Kögeler-Moon at the Northern shore of Lake *jaṣasutai* in the country of the Kharatsin”³⁵ or 1611, the next hog-year in the 10th sexagenary cycle.

Oyutu luri bande and *Sira bande* appear now to have worked as scribes of a number of tantric texts which all Paṇḍita *guosi čorji* had translated:

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|---|
| a) <i>Čoytu včir ayuyluyčei yamandagayin čoy jibqulangtan egüskeküyin jerge</i> | translated: <i>eme yaqai jil</i> | written: <i>usun eme moyai-jil-ün jun-u dumdatu sarayin sineyin tabun-du...</i> ³⁶ |
| b) <i>Yeke čoytu včir ayuyluyčei egüskeküyin jerge</i> | <i>eme yaqai jil</i> | <i>köke eme taulai jil-ün qabur qoyar sarayin bedegün-e</i> |

³¹ Partly translated in m. “Zur geistigen Leistung der neubekehrten Mongolen des späten 16. und frühen 17. Jhdts.,” *UJAb*, XXVI (1954), 110–111.

³² Cf. note 29.

³³ fol. 47 r: *urida eme yaqai jil-tür delgerenggüi-e. orči-yuluysan...*

³⁴ He was a personal disciple of the 3rd Dalai Lama (1542–1587) (Huth, *Die Inschriften von Tsaghan Baiših* [Leipzig, 1894], 28). For his person and activity as translator cf. Vladimircov, *op. cit.*, 217 sq.; Heissig, *UJAb*, XXVI (1954), 108; “Die Steininschrift von Olon Süme,” *CAJ*, I (1955), 281–282.

³⁵ Mong. Kandjur, vol. 14, *Yeke niyuča tarni-yi tayan bariyči* (Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanjur Mongol Imprimé* [Budapest, 1942], 57): *tere qutuy tu dalai blama qaračin-u yaṣar jaṣasutai naṣur-un umara tu dvib-tür yaqai jil-ün kögeler sarada...* (Transl. in *UJAb*, XXVI [1954], 106).

- c) *Čoytu belge bilig-ün*
idam jiryuyan yar tu
nom-un qayan nügüd selte-
yin ilerkei onol gangyal
maytayal utuyul-luya
*selte*³⁷

The colophon³⁸ of the last work (c) which mentions no date creates the impression as if these two scribes were not only contemporaries of Paṇḍita *siregetü guosi čorji* but of *Kiya tayji*, an adopted³⁹ son of Altan Khan too. Then, the first Yamātaka-ritual must have been translated in 1587 by Paṇḍita *guosi čorji* and written by the two scribes in 1593, the female water snake-year of the 10th sexagenary-cycle. The equivalent in the following 11th sexagenary-cycle, 1653, is too late to be considered in connection with *Kiya tayji*.

The *Yeke čoytu včir ayuγuluyčï-yin egüskeküin jerge* seems then to be translated in 1587 too, but copied by *Oyutu luri bande* and *Sira bande* after a longer interval in the female blue-hare-year of the 10th sexagenary-cycle, 1615/II, 30. The equivalents of this year in the 9th sexagenary-cycle, 1555, and in the 11th sexagenary-cycle, 1675, are either too early or too late for consideration.

Louvain, Seminary.

- (20) *Yeke čoytu ayuγuluyčï-yin egüskeküi jerge anu* ("Initiation-grade of Śrī- Vajrabhairava")

Ms., fragmentary, only fol. 1, 2, 15, 30–35, 65, small size, 21 lines. Titlepage marked Tib. C'i.

Incipit: *Lama kigeđ itegel mañjusiri-dur mörgümü. yeke včir ayuγuluyčï-yin egüskeküi jerge anu. tayilbasu qoyar-tur. bay-layu...*⁴⁰

The Utpannakrama-part of a Mahāvajrabhairava-Sādhana. As indicated by the Tibetan marking of the titlepage, the work formed part 48 of a greater collection.

Scheut.

³⁶ Ms., Royal Library Copenhagen, 47 r.; cf. note 29.

³⁷ Ms., Bibl. Nat. Paris; cf. note 28.

³⁸ Text with German translation cf. *CAJ*, I (1954), 281.

³⁹ Cf. the genealogical tables in *Pei-lu feng-su* (H. Serruys, "Pei-lou fong-sou," *Mon. Ser.*, X (1945), 180.

⁴⁰ Another Ms. with the title *Yeke čoytu včir ayuγuluyčï egüskeł-ün jerge-yi üčüken tedüi tayiluγsan draga orusiba* in the Royal Library Copenhagen.

- (21) *Üiles-ün erlig qayan-dur baling ergükü-yin yosun orusiba* ("Ritual of the offering of dough-pyramides to Erlig, the king of the actions") Ms., 5 fol., approx. 29 : 8 (24,8 : 6,5) cm, 21 lines.
Incipit: *Om hri*, followed by a Mantra.
Terminatur: . . . *kemen öljei qutuy-i olqu boltuyai!*
Louvain, Seminary (Rev. J. Mullie).
- (22) *Qutuy tu bañcaragsa-yin quriyangyui oti orčiyulbai*
Ms., 5 fol., approx. 23,7 : 6,4 cm. Written with calamus.
An abbreviation of the dhāraṇī of the 5 works known commonly as Pañcarakṣa.
Incipit: *Qutuy tu yeke mingyan-i sayitur daruyči eke-yin jirüken tarni. . .*
Terminatur: . . . *qutuy tu yeke niyuča tarnis-un qatun-i tayan bariyči neretü yeke kölgön sudurtegüsbe*. Benediction.
Louvain, University Library.
- (23) *Getülgegči bañar yogini-yin öljei qutuy-un silüg sayin buyan-i čoy-öggügči kemegdekü orusiba* ("Poem of blessing of the saviour Vajrayogini, called the one which gives the utmost of merits") Ms., 15 + 1 fol., approx. 25,5 : 7 (22 : 5,3) cm, 19 lines sometimes varying.
Incipit: Title.
Terminatur (15 v.): *öljei qutuy-yi ügülegdeküi*. Without colophon.
Louvain, Seminary (Rev. J. Mullie).
- (24) *Arban жүг-үн irügel* ("Benediction of the ten directions") Ms., 4 fol., approx. 31 : 8 (28 : 6,3) cm, 26 lines.
Incipit: *Arban жүг-үн toyulasi ügei ayui-dur sayuysan. . .*
Terminatur (4 v.): . . . *qamuy irüger tegsi бүтүкү boltuyai!*
Copy of No. 70 of the collection *Öljei badaraysan süme-yin qural-un aman ungsilya* etc. (*Blockdrucke*, No. 149).
Louvain, Seminary (Rev. J. Mullie).
- (24a) *Ariyun sang orusiba* ("Incense-offering (for) purification") Ms., 17 fol., approx. 17,5 : 7,5 cm, 14 lines, old hand in calamus.
Incipit: *Suvasti degedü yurban erdeni-dür yurban egüden -i yeke bisireküi -ber mörgüged. tedeger-i bayasqan üiledküi ariyulqui takil-*

⁴¹ For the Mani-ceremony cf. Wadell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 162–164; Prayers of similar content in the Royal Library Copenhagen.

un ʃang üile-yi tobčilan quriyaʃu bičisügei..." Svasti. I bow to the sublime three jewels, to the three sources in great faith! I shall write abbreviatedly this, the ritual of the purification-offering which brings happiness..."

Terminatur (17 r:11): ...*badma sambu-a bayši-yin adistid-un küčün-iyer bayasču ödter iren soyurqa. tegüsbe. manggalam.*"...grant through the strength of the blessing by Padma sambhava that happiness comes quickly!" A ritual for purification (cf. the same title in the State Library Ulaanbaatar, REL 722-695, *Catalogue*, 229; for another prayer for bodily purification ascribed to Padma sambhava cf. *Blockdrucke*, No. 40).
Louvain, University Library.

- (25) *rʃirung rinboʃe -ber ʃokiyaysan urtaʃayulun tataqu mani orusiba* ("Prayer for drawing out (the) Mani"⁴² composed by the rje druñ rin po č'e")⁴²

Xylograph in the style of the prints of the *Čayan ayula süme*.⁴³

5 fol., approx., 30 : 10 (21,5 : 6,2) cm, 15 lines.

Incipit: *Om baʃar dhara...*

Terminatur (5r.):...*qamuʃ blama burqad-un ʃayiqamsiy tu neres-i. ʃanbova ʃirung erdeni qamtu nigen-e nayirayulbai. Om ma ni pad me hum* "... the wonderful names of all lama and Buddhas has united in one (prayer) *ʃanbova* rje druñ *erdeni*. Om ma ni pad me hum!"
Louvain, Seminary.

- (26) Ms., Title missing, 20 fol., approx. 23 : 8,5 (19 : 6) cm, calamus.
Incipit: *ʃartayan čayan lingu-a bariyči-dayan baraysan...*

Terminatur (20 r.):...*dorun-a kürgegdeküi.*

Louvain, University Library.

- (27) *Altan quyaytu kemekü neretü yeke kölgen sudur orusiba* ("Mahāyānasūtra named the one who has a golden armour")

⁴² One of the seven high lamaist dignitaries living in Peking during the 18th and 19th century (cf. *Li-fan-yüan tse-li*, chüan 56, 50 v; *Blockdrucke*, 109⁶). During the first half of the 20th century the rje druñ Khutukhtu lived in the *Tung-miao* at Dolonor (cf. *Do ron ra ma miao to sono sei tai*, *Nairiku Asia*, 1941, 269).

⁴³ A monastery in the North of the Tsakhar-district founded in the 2nd half of the 18th century by the *Čaqar gebsi* blo bzañ c'ul k'rims (cf. Isibaldan, *Mongʃol-un orun-dur qayan-u uysaya kiged šaʃin delgeregsen. šaʃin-i bariyčün üsüg uralaysan. keyid ayimay terigüten yampar metü ʃaruyysan-u yosu-yi nomlaysan Erdeni-yin erike*, written 1835), a famous translator (cf. Vladimircov, *Pancatantra*, 410). A printing-press was connected with the monastery (cf. *Blockdrucke*, 1-2; L.S. Pučkovskij, "Nekotorye voprosy naučnogo opisaniya mongol'skich rukopisej," *Sov. Vostokoved*, II, 1941).

Ms., 6 fol., approx. 20,5 : 7 cm, 16 lines.

Incipit: *Namo buddhaya kemekü nigen silüg ungsibesu*...

Terminatur (5v.): *Qutuytu qomsim bodisung-un* (6 r.) *aldar-sin dügürügsen neretü sudur nom-un nigen bičig nigen jüil-iyer tegüsbe*.

Louvain, University Library.

- (28) *Qutuytu Molon toyin eke-dür-iyen ači qariyuluysan kemekü sudur*
Peking xylograph of 1708 (*Blockdrucke*, No. 15).

Louvain, Seminary; University Library.

- (29) *Doluγan sayibar oduysan-i takiqu-yin ǰang yosun-luya neyileküi küsel-i qangγayči erkes-ün qayan neretü orusiba*

Peking xylograph, 98 fol. + 1 backleaf, approx. 50 : 15,5 (42 : 12) cm, 28 lines. Chinese marking on titlepage: 滿 *Man*. Block-signature left: 滿 *Man*. Dated 98v.: K'ang-hsi 21, 1682/VIII. Text and colophon agree with the other Peking xylograph of the same work (*Blockdrucke*, No. 8) of 1682/VIII. With the above blocksignature, however, the xylograph has not been mentioned yet. It is to be added as No. 82a in the sequence of *Blockdrucke*.

Bought by P. Mullie 1910 in Erh-chi-ku-tzu.

Louvain, University Library.

- (30) Xylograph, title missing, fragmentary, only fol. 2–56, approx. 42 : 11 (38 : 9) cm, 19 lines clearly cut and exactly written letters. No Chinese blocksignature. Left: *Juu adiša*; Right: *Dalai lama*. A collection of three tracts by the 5th Dalai Lama naγ dbaṅ blo bzaṅ rgya mc'o (1618–1682) as stated by the fragmentary colophon: Incipit (fragm.) 2 r.: ...*oroi-yin čimeg boluysan. čaylasi ügei blama-yin ölmei-dür mörgümü. ǰurban čay-un burqan bodisung nar-un getülügsen ǰayčakü mör. tusa ǰiryalang qočorli ügei ǰarqui* (2 v.) *erdeni-yin sang*...

Terminatur (fragm.; 56 r.): *kemen ilayuysan-u köbegün dürbel ügei sayin čoytu bar ǰokiyaysan oyun sudulqui doluγan udqa tu* (56 v.) *degere-eče angqarun-u kötelbüri sayitur abuysan ündüsüleḡsed-ün ǰalbaril irügel-lüge selte egün-i enekü ba. čikin-iyer ündüsülügsen yeke oyun sudulqui sayitur nomlaysan бүкүн-ү quriyangyui ǰurban-i keb-tür seyileküi čay-tur zahor-un bandi-ber nayirayuluysan-u bičigeči 'cans dbyang bstan 'jin bolai. nom-un öglige*...⁴⁴ "...at the time of cutting into (printing) blocks this collection of all three composed

⁴⁴ vacat.

by the Bodhisattva, the mighty irresistible,⁴⁵ that is *Oyun sudulqui doluyan udqa tu* together with *Angqarun-u kötelbüri sayitur abuysan ündüsülegsed-ün jalbaril irügel* and *Čikin-iyer ündüsüligsen yeke oyun sudulqui sayitur nomlaysan*,⁴⁶ 'Cañ dbyañ bstan 'jin was the scribe of these (works) which the Za hor bande⁴⁷ had composed.' Scheut.

- (31) *Tarnis-un quriyangyui*. 2nd volume.
Peking xylograph of K'ang-hsi 46, 1707, 257 fol. (*Blockdrucke*, No. 13).
Louvain, University Library.
- (32) *Sungdui nöğüge bölüg (Qutuy tu mayidari-yin irüger-ün qayan)*.
Peking xylograph of Yung-cheng 5, 1727, 265 fol. (*Blockdrucke*, No. 67).
Scheut.
- (32a) *Badma yatang sudur-un orusiba*
Peking xylograph, 292 fol., 60 : 19,5 (50 : 14,5) cm, 30 lines.
(*Blockdrucke*, No. 25).
Louvain, University Library.

III. POPULAR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS:

- (33) *yal-un takilya orusiba* ("Fire-Offering")
Ms., 8 fol., approx. 24 : 7,5 cm, 17 lines, incomplete.
Incipit: [*Qutuy*] *tu burqan bayisi-yin čikigsen*⁴⁸ *qurmusta tngri-yin jöyoyşan*⁴⁹ *odqan yalaqun ekedü ariyun takil takimui...* "I offer a clean offering to mother *Odqan yalaqun*, stricken by the Holy Master Buddha and created by *Hormusta tngri...*"
A prayer for the annually repeated worship of the fire goddess.⁵⁰
Louvain, University Library.

⁴⁵ Epithet of the Dalai Lama.

⁴⁶ Nag dbaṅ blo bzañ č'os ldan, the 1st lČaṅ skya Khutukhtu (1642–1714) of Peking, wrote a commentary to this work, *čikin-e ündüsülegsен yeke oyun sudulqu-yin kötel-büri...* (Coll. Works, vol. II, No. 7; *Blockdrucke*, 59–60).

⁴⁷ Epithet of the 5th Dalai Lama; cf. note 22.

⁴⁸ Must read *čakiysan* as shown by the opening lines of some fire-rituals in the Royal Library Copenhagen: *Qutuy tu burqan bayisi-yin čakiysan...*

⁴⁹ Perhaps a misspelling for *jokiyaşan* as some fire-rituals from Tsakhar (Royal Library Copenhagen) read: *qormusta tngri-yin qutuytu burqan bayisi- jokiyaşan... odqan yalaqan...*

⁵⁰ Cf. N. Poppe, "Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen," *AM*, II (1925), 137 sq.;

- (33a) Ms., no title, Chinese double-leaf book, 5 fol., 21 : 22,5 cm, 10 lines.
 Incipit: *Nilqas-un arban tabun ada-i (!) üldekü kereg inu. üiledkü-yin bariyun eteged čayan bös debisker-ün degere. nilqas-un nasun toýola sir-iyar čayan tuturya bui. ýurban erdeni-dür takil ergü. idam nom-un sakiýulsun-dur qurim ergü. nasun-u sumun ba egerül čayan kilyasun. eldeb kkib-üd altan ba. ogyu -bar čimen. burqan sitügen toli terigüten beled. . .* “What is necessary to banish the fifteen ada of the infants. At the right side of (the place of) performing count the age of the infant with varnish and white rice on a quilt of white cotton, offer an offering to the three jewels, offer a banquet to the yidam and the guardians of the faith, decorate with the arrow of age, the white mane of health, various silken streamers, gold and turquoise, put up Buddha-statues and mirrors and so on. . .”
 Terminatur (5r.): . . . *ene ýoliý-i abuýad. ene edür söni-eče qoyinay-sida ýiči nirayıqad-i eldeb ýüil önggetü buu üýügülügtün. (5 v.) ada ong(ý)ot arban tabun nere.* . . . when this substitute has been taken, let not see the little ones from this day and night on later various kinds of coloured (things). (5 v.) The fifteen names of the Ada ongýot.”
 A popular-religious instruction for the expelling of^{50a} demons harming the infants.
 Louvain, Seminary (Rev. J. Mullie).

- (34) *Nayiman üme* (“Eight disputes”)
 Ms., 3 fol., approx. 23 : 7 cm.
 Incipit: *Öber-yin nigen gsin-dur čoytu včir ayuyuluýči nigen niýur. . .*
 Terminatur (2 v.). . . *udqa-yi nomčilan бүтүгекүи qani nöküür bolun ýokiya*
 Col.: *Maha cina-yin yeke orun-u egün. dayisun-u tngri. guvan lhoye kemen aldarsıýsan. šasin-i sakiqi-yin üiles-eče dayaysan silüg üd egüni ber degedü itegel abural da rje drunam qubilýan beye tü rinboce-yin kündü ýarlıý boluýsan-dur boyoydaýu mcangs sgya lalida baýar bar darui bičibeı. sayın buyan bolturyai.*
 A translation of kvan lha’i gsol mč’od bžugs sho, an invocation of Kuan lao-yeh as guardian-deity of the Manchu-empire, composed

“Opisanie mongol’skikh “šamanskikh” rukopisej Instituta Vostokovedeniya,” *ZAP. I.V.A.N.*, I (1932), 174–184. Further Mss. in the Royal Library Copenhagen and in the State Library Ulaanbaatar, REL 688–448, 710–606 and 733–2062 (Catalogue, 226, 228, 231).

^{50a} For this action of a shaman cf. m. “A Mongolian Source to the Lamaist Suppression of Shamanism”, *Anthropos*, 48 (1953), 508.

by the lČaṅ skya Khutukhtu Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717–1786). The translation is independent of the trilingual Peking xylograph of the same work (*Blockdrucke*, No. 158). The introductory lines of the Tibetan original (Peking xylograph, 1 v. -2 r.) are here missing; the beginning of the manuscript corresponds with fol. 2 r. of the xylograph.

Louvain, University Library.

IV. DIVINATION:

- (35) Ms., title missing, 7 fol., approx. 38 : 9 cm, 29 lines.

Incipit: *blama-dur mörgümü hi. burqan-dur mörgümü bi. nom-dur . . .*

Terminatur (7v.): *. . . ende todqar yeke qoor. qomsin bolqu. amin uqur büged ebedčin yeke kündüle oruḡu mayu ḡai inu yeke bolqu belge. manghalam. “ . . . this is an omen, that life will be short, the affliction by sickness grave and illfortune great. Manghalam!”*

Louvain, University Library.

- (36) Ms., title missing, 9 fol., approx. 19,2 : 5 cm, 18 lines.

Incipit: *Ükügsed-i bariqu kümün kemebesü bars taulai luu ḡilten ükügsed-i moyai. . .*

Louvain, University Library.

- (37) Ms., title missing, 3 fol., approx. 24,3 : 7 cm, 25 lines.

Incipit: *Ebčin kümün-i üḡere odqu-dür unuysan morin-i sinḡilen üḡüküi biḡig. morin-u ebsiyeḡü bayibas. . .* “Book which shows (how) to predict (from the behaviour of) the horse which one mounts when going to visit a sick man. In case the horse is yawning. . . ⁵¹

Terminatur (3 v.): *. . . darayḡa ḡai aldaraqu sayin bui manghala(m)* “ . . . this is good for setting free of misfortune. Manghalam!”

Louvain, University Library.

- (38) Ms., title missing, 2 fol., approx. 24,3 : 7 cm, 19 lines.

Incipit: *Čibelüd-ün üiledküi yosun-i. angqa öglige-yin eḡin-i üile-yin qomqan-u usun-iyar uḡiyumui. . .* “At the beginning of the ritual for

⁵¹ The *Altan tobči* (*Scripta Mong.*, I, II, 93; C. Bawden, *The Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobči* = *GAF*, V, 55, 137) reports a case of a soothsaying dog. Another way of telling the future out of the cries of the riding animal is described in the Mongol biography of *Neyiči toyin* (1557–1653), *Boḡda neyiči toyin dalai manjusryi-yin domoy*, Peking xylograph of 1739 (cf. *Blockdrucke*, No. 95), 24v. –25v: “He is the lama who shall spread the religion in the East because the sound which was produced by the donkey ridden by the lama was like the sound of a conchshell.” Cf. *Sinologica*, III, 1953, 23.

bringing forth an omen⁵² the benefactor is washed with the water from the (ritual) pitcher. . .

Terminatur: *ebesün jolij* . . . “a substitute of grass”⁵³

Louvain, University Library.

(39) *Ĵiryuyan ĵayurtu* (“The six intermediary periods”)

Ms., 7 + 1 fol., approx. 23 : 8 cm, 15 lines in varying hand.

Incipit: *Namo guru manjugoša. egiün-e üküüi ċay-tur mayad keregtei* . . . “Namo guru Mañjughoša. It is certainly necessary in the time of death according to this. . .”

Terminatur (7v): . . . *bolqu boltuyai. . . sayin buyan ölĵei*. “ . . . good merits and grace!” Follows chart with divinatory signs.

A manual to decide the right time for helping the spirit of a dead during the period before being reborn.⁵⁴

Louvain, University Library.

(40) Ms., title missing, 12 fol., approx. 38,5 : 8 cm, incomplete, 29 lines.

Incipit: *Namo guru manjugosaya. eke-ĵil-ün toyolaqu yosun anu. . .*

“Praise to the teacher Manjughoša! The ritual of counting the years of origin. . .”

Louvain, University Library.

(41) *Gray-un sudur bolai* (“This is the Sūtra of the Planets”)

Ms., 3 fol., approx. 21 : 7,3 (15,5 : 4,5) cm, 12 lines.

Incipit: *quluyan-a ĵiltü-yin sünesün gray bud. amin gray. angqaray ügülerün* . . . “(For) one born in the rat-year, the soul-planet is Mercury, the life (-planet) is *Angqaray*. It has been remarked. . .”

Terminatur (3 r.): . . . *üküül sayičar bolai*.

A divinatory handbook.⁵⁵

Louvain, University Library.

⁵² *Mongĵol üsüg-ün dūrim-ün toli bičig*, 1951, (2nd edition), 760: *iru-a metü čibel ĵiyaqu* = *iru-a üfegdekü metü*; cf. Kowalewski, III, 2149.

⁵³ For the use of a substitute of the likeness of a human being cf. R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* ('s-Gravenhage, 1956), 360–361; *jolij*-offering of the Eastmongolian shamans cf. m. “Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Kūriye-Banner,” *Folklore Studies*, III (Peking, 1944), 53–54.

⁵⁴ A similar work, *Ĵayurtu-yin qabčayai-ača getülgekü-yin ĵalbaril* (“Prayer to liberate from the narrow passage of the intermediary period”), translation from the Tibetan, 7 fol., in the State Library Ulaanbaatar (cf. Catalogue, 190, REL. 341–399); cf. further *Mayu iru-a-yi üfegkü bičig*, 12 fol. Ulaanbaatar (Catalogue, 234).

⁵⁵ Similar works in the Royal Library Kopenhagen, *grag üre nomlal bui*; *grag odun-u dokiya*, Ms.

V. NARRATIVES AND EPICS:

(42) *San kuo-chih*

Ms., 1 fascicle, Chinese double-leafbook.

Incipit: *anu merge aqa-dur nigen köke deb... suyai kemeküi yaγčikü nigen kümün-ü buruysiyaqu-ača...*

Terminatur: *...sayuysayar. čin ulus-un čirig balyasun-dur bayildun bariba.*

Part of a Mongol translation of the famous Chinese novel *San kuo-chih*.⁵⁶

Louvain, Seminary (Rev. J. Mullie).

(43) Ms., title missing, 21 fol., incomplete (end missing), approx. 40 : 11 cm, carefully written, beginning of chapters in red ink.

Eight chapters of a narration about the origin of the cosmos, clad into various discourses between the first mythical Indian king Mahāsammata and Samantabhadra.

I.

Incipit: *Om suvasti siddam. angqan-u ilayuysan degedü ündüsün-ü blama. abuyad jıbsi terigülen amitan-u iγayur ündüsün-e. aqı bütüküi siltayan...*

Terminatur: *...keregü degedü nom-i bisilyaytun. kemen nomlaysan aγıyū. nigedüger bölüg...* "he has taught: You shall seek with zeal the necessary sublime teaching. First chapter."⁵⁷... 1 v. – 8 v.

II.

Basa maqasamadi qayan. samandababari-ača asayabai. ai baysi minu. namai qayan kemen ergügsen. ken bui kemebe. samandabari ügülebei. qayan čimai nayırayuluysan inu včir-a dara bui... "The king Mahāsammata asked Samantabhadra: Ah, my teacher, what does it mean that you had me honoured as king? Samantabhadra said: It was Vajradhara who had you set up for king..."

...qayan čimadu manglai boluysan. arban nayıman yosun tegüsügsen aγıyū kemebei. qoyaduγar bölüg "...saying: the eighteen rules have been completed which have been a guide for you, king! Second chapter." ... 8 v. – 9 r.

⁵⁶ Cf. Hightower, 93–94; About the Mongol translations of Chinese novels cf. *CAJ*, II (1956), 50.

⁵⁷ Deals with the cause of the creation, the origin of the creatures, the first king Mahāsammata, the first town and the first teaching of religion.

III.

Basa maha (!) samadi qayan kemen samanda badari-ača asayubai. uridu boduysan jirγuyan galab... "Mahāsammata spoke then and asked Samantabhadra: The six Kalpa conceived earlier..."

...samandabadari qoyaγula-yin ügüleksen yosun buyu γurbaduγar bölüg "... This is it how it has been spoken by (Mahāsammata) and Samantabhadra, these two. Third chapter."... 9 r. – 9 v.

IV.

Basa maqa samadi qayan ügülebei. samandabadari bayši-ača. bodisuy-iyar jakıju töröjü qayan bolqui buiγa... "King Mahāsammata then spoke and asked the master Samantabhadra: Should I have been born and became a king upon the order of a Bodhisattva..."
...amitan nöküčügsen -u tula toytan bui. dörbedüger bölüg...
 "... it has been established because of friendship towards the living beings. Fourth chapter"... 9 v. – 10 r.

V.

Maqa samadi qayan samandabari-dur ügülebei. včir-a dara sigemüni qoyar yaγun bui kemebe. bayši ini (!) öčir-ün... "King Mahāsammata said to Samantabhadra: How are Vajra dhara and Śākyamuni, these two? The master answered..."

...galab-un ündüsün-i ečüs bolqu-yin siltayan-u jüil bügüdeger-i ilγan jökiyaγsan. tabuduγar bölüg "... Fifth chapter which has shown separately all these things, ... the origin of the Kalpa and the cause which brings its end"... 10 r. – 11 v.

VI.

Basa samandabadari-ača maha samadi qayan asaγur-un. irege edüi sigemüni-yin galab-tur... "King Mahāsammata then asked Samantabhadra: In the worldperiod of Śākyāmuni which has not come yet..."

...sansar-un iruγar-un šasin-u tayılburı-yin toya-nu quriyangγui jirγuduγar bölüg "... summary of a number of religious commentaries. Sixth chapter. ... 12" r. – 12 v.

VII.

Ülemji qoor üküškegsengalinggi-yin qayan. mingyang galab-tur tamudur

oduysan bui. . . "The King of Kalinga who had caused very great evil has gone to hell for one thousand world-periods. . ."
...tečiyel ügei tü yirtinčü. doluduyar čambudib yirtinčü bolai.
 "...the world without feeding, the seventh was the world Jam-budvipa".... 12 v. – 17 r.

VIII.

Aya dibatad. burqan-u nidiin-i qoyar tege ebdejü. . .

Terminatur (fragmentary), 21 v.: *...qubilyan beyetü laskidarma ügülebei. olan amitan*. . . "...the true incarnation Laskidharma said: All beings. . ."... 17 r. – 21 v.

Scheut.

(44) Geser Khan Epic.

Ms., 54 fol., approx. 40 : 11,5 cm, 33 – 41 lines varyingly.

Incipit: *Om suvasti sidam nasun qutuy boltuyai. erte nigen čay-tur. sigemüni burqan nirwan-u düri üfjügülkü*. . .

Terminatur (54 r.): *...rogmo γoo-a nigen üye uyilažu. nigen üye inigejü sayuba*.

Arban жүг-үн арбан qoro-yin ündüsün-i tasuluyсан.

*ači tu boyda mergen geser qayan-i aldarsiysan dayuriyaysan*⁵⁸
nigedüger čadig ene buyu.

Chapter 1 of the version of the Geser Khan epic xylographed 1716 in Peking (*Blockdrucke*, No. 35).⁵⁹

Scheut.

(45) *Arban жүг-үн еfen boyda geser qayan-u čadig orusiba* ("Legend of the Holy Geser Khan, master of the ten regions")

Ms., 32 fol., approx. 40 : 11,5 cm, 33–41 lines varyingly, clear hand in calamus, partly written in red.

A version of the Geser Khan epic consisting of two adventures. The opening lines use a motive dealt with in the ending of chapter 4 of the Peking xylograph.⁶⁰ Then are used phrases and motives

⁵⁸ Peking xylograph of 1716: *dayurisyсан*.

⁵⁹ Mongol text edited by I. J. Schmidt, *Die Thaten des Vertilgers der Zehn Übel in den Zehn Gegenden, des verdienstvollen Bogda Gesser Chan* (St. Petersburg, 1836), 1–57; New Peking edition, *Arban жүг-үн еfen geser qayan-u tuγuži orusiba (öbür mongγol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriya*, Peking, 1956), I, 1–93. German translation by I. J. Schmidt, (2nd. edition, *Die Heiligen Bücher des Nordens* [Berlin, 1925], 1.85); Russian translation: S. A. Kozin, *Geseriada* (Moscow, 1935), 7–94.

⁶⁰ New Peking edition, I, 170–171.

otherwise to be found in chapter 5 of the Peking xylograph.⁶¹ From 3 v.:4 *sayun atala nayan nasutu čargin ebügen terigülen yurban jayun bayatur yučin qosiyučı-ača ülegsın kedün bayatur ud nayıman nasatu laıyıçab keüken* . . . the texts agrees nearly verbally with the chapters VIII, IX and X of the second,⁶² only recently published part of the Mongol Geser Khan epic⁶³ though there is here no division into chapters.

I

Incipit: *Arban жүг-үн qamuy amitan-i ejelen sayuqi çay-tur*
arban qoortu-yin ündüsün-i tasulun törögsın
arsalan boyda geser qayan
arban qoyar toluyai tu mangyusun tib-tür ögede boluyad.
čambudib-un kötelkü amitan-i örübükü-degen
asuru jalğigči. qara simnus-i
arban жүг-үн ejen boyda
asuru riti qubilyan-ıyar doroyıtayulun daruqu.
arulu yoo-a qatun-ıyan abun.
arban qoyar toluyai tu mangyus-un yaǵar sayun
altan suburyan-u degere sayun atala
arulu yoo-a qatun inu
amitan-i örüsiyegči dakini mön bügetele
adtayarqaqu sedkil inu yeke-yin tulada.
bügüde-yi martayuluyçı
bay neretü qara idegen-i qoroǵan-du neyilegüliged
arban жүг-үн ejen geser qayan-du ber ayıladqan barıba.
arban жүг-үн qoorun-yin ündüsün-i tasuluyısan
ayyqu metü boyda minu či

⁶¹ 3 v.: . . . *jalaran ögede boluyad. jayun nayıman asar tu qota. arban yurban včir tu süime-yügen bayıyuluyad.* For a survey of chapter V cf. G. N. Roerich, "The Epic of King Kesar of Ling", *JRASB*, VIII (1942), 297–298.

⁶² Cf. N. Poppe, "Stand und Aufgaben der Mongolistik," *ZDMG* 100 (1950), 83; O nekotorykh novykh glavakh 'Geser Khana', "Vost Zap.", I (1927), 190 sq; for a survey and comparison with the Tibetan version cf. G. N. Roerich, "The Epic of King Kesar of Ling," *JRASB*, VIII (1942). The above Mongol version shows no similarities with the great Tibetan version as translated and paraphrased by R. A. Stein, *L'Épopée Tibétaine de Gesar dans la version lamaïque de Ling* (Paris, 1956).

⁶³ *Arban жүг-үн ejen geser qayan-u tuyuǵı orusıba*, II, Peking 1956, 534 pp., 1–524. (Vol. I, 313 pp., is a reprint of the Peking xylograph of 1716. Cf. note 59). Vol. II contains 7 hitherto unpublished chapters of which the manuscript had been found at Peking (I, *keblegsın tuǵai** . . . *yar bičimel-ıyer tarqayayısan segül-ün jıryuyan bölüge-i (!) edüge bide begejıng qota-ača olju abuyısan* –" these six (!) final chapters distributed (so far only) in manuscripts we obtained now from the city of Peking . . ."

arban qoyar toluyai tu mangyus-i alayad
arulu γoo-a qatun-ıyan abun
altan suburyan-i ejelen sayuquı-dur činu
arulu γoo-a qatun čini bi masi bayarlaǵu bariba.
boyda minu kemeged. boyda-du ergübesü. . .

“At the time when he was governing all living beings of the ten regions,

The Lion, holy king Geser,

Born to destroy the roots of the ten evils,

Went to the country of the ogre with twelve heads.

Weakening him by great magical transformations

The holy lord of the ten regions

Suppressed the black demon

Who was devouring these world's walking creatures in his jaws.

His wife Arulu γoo-a he took with him.

While they sat near the golden pagode

being in the country of the ogre with twelve heads,

The wife Arulu γoo-a,

Because she was of a very jealous mind

Inasmuch as she was a fairy very compassionate towards the creatures,

Mixed the back food called Bay which ceases remembering into brandy distilled for three times.

Offering this to Geser Khan, the lord of the ten regions, she said:

My Saint, so terrible that

You destroyed the roots of evil in the ten regions,

Who killed the ogre with the twelve heads,

Who took his wife Arulu γoo-a –

While you are sitting here governing the golden pagode

I, your wife Arulu γoo-a present you (this drink) rejoicingly,

You, my Saint! When thus she spoke and presented (the drink) to the Saint. . .”

The contents of this chapter are:

After having destroyed the ogre with twelve heads, Geser lives happily near the golden pagoda where his wife Arulu γoo-a serves him a potation which ceases remembering. *Ǵasa sikir*, his brother, tries to remind him by sending an arrow with a message but the potation of oblivion is stronger. Geser's three heavenly sisters descend too asking Geser the whereabouts of his comrades in arms.

But Geser has forgotten that during his absence all his knights (*qosiγučī*) and soldiers have been killed in battle with the three *Sirayīγol*-kings. Leading the other children of the dead warriors the boy *Layičab* finally brings Geser to realize the loss of his comrades. Upon advice by the old *Čargin* Geser Khan went to the battlefield where he loses consciousness, overwhelmed by his grief. *Čargin ebügen* finds him lifeless amongst the skeletons of the dead heroes. He brings Geser back to consciousness. Geser laments his loss. Hearing this his three heavenly sisters descend from the palace of Hormusta in heaven. They try to comfort Geser who asks for their help. They advise him to turn to Hormusta. After Geser has done so Hormusta brings the case before Śakyāmuni who smiling benevolently orders to revive the dead knights. The three heavenly sisters are sent down to Geser with the heavenly drink *Rasiyan*. Upon their advice Geser sprinkles *Rasiyan* over the bones of the dead who stirr, become joined again, covered with flesh and finally alive again. The knights praise Geser who then celebrates together with them, his threehundred warriors and all his three peoples.

Terminatur(12 v.): . . . *γurban sara boltala* (13 r.) *qurimlan jirγayad ger ger -tür iyen tarqaba*.

Arban жүг-үн ејен бойда гесер қаян

Aliba бүгүде-үүген тегүскејү.

Amuyulang-iyar jirγan sayan atala.⁶⁴

II

Incipit, written in red (13 r.): *Basa basa arban жүг-үн ејен гесер қаян бурқан-у шајин-и наран метү байı;улжу саγutala. dokiγur-un tib-eče nang dulmu neretü qayān-u tümen nidütü. tümen γar tu raquyin tegüsügen*. . . The contents of this chapter a.e.: The country Tang at the Gangga River is ravaged by the monsterking with fifteen heads, Nang dulmu. Geser calls his knights to arms and sets out against this monster. *Čargin ebügen*, ordered to remain back in charge of the government, refuses this and wants to die in battle. The knights *Ulayān nidün* and *Buyidung* while reconnoitring take tenthousand horses from the herds of monsterking Nang dulmu.

⁶⁴ New Peking edition, II, 17 (chapter VIII), terminates alike.

⁶⁵ The Ms. writes varyingly *ang dulmu* ~ *dulma* (cf. Roerich, l.c., 298. *Andalma*) or *nang dulmu*.

Nang dulmu sends his knights *Iryai* and *Siryai* with thousand warriors in pursuit. After having made an offering of one horse to the guardianghost of Geser Khan⁶⁶ *Buyidung* and *Uluγan nidün* attack and overwhelm the pursuers, kill *Iryai* and send *Siryai* back to the monsterking to tell him about the battle won by only two thanes⁶⁷ of Geser Khan. Returned the two report their victory to Geser Khan who distributes their booty, taking part of it himself. A great battle is fought in front of the city of Nang dulmu which has 300 bastions. Geser, however, is not able to overcome the monsterking. He calls for help to his heavenly father Hormusta. Upon this his brother *Ĵasa sikir* takes farewell of his wife *gimsün γoo-a* and descends from heaven in assistance of Geser Khan. In the course of the ensuing battle the wife of Nang dulmu, *Badma raga* falls into the hands of knight *Siumer* who wants to spare her life. But Geser beheads her pointing out that she too was evil. When *Ĵasa sikir* opens her womb a nine month-old monster with fifteen heads is found and killed too. The bastions of the city are taken and Geser Khan destroys the monsterking Nang dulmu. A great banquet is held in celebration of the victory. All knights, *Altan dakini*, *Alu mergen tümen ĵirγalang qatun*, *čargin ebügen*, *sanglun ebügen*, *čotong*⁶⁸ and the three peoples take part in it. After having returned to his castle Geser Khan lives in peace surrounded by his people. When *Ĵasa sikir* intends to kill *čotong* for his former treacheries he is stopped by Geser who argues that *čotong* is only one bad form of the onethousand transformations of Geser. To prove this both persons merge into the one of Geser who then presents all his knights with the weapons and other booty taken away from monsterking Nang dulmu.

Terminatur (32 v.):

Arban ĵüg-ün ayuqu geser qayan

Aliba bügüde-yügen tegüskeĵü

Altan öngge tü ulum tala dergede.

Altan ordu qarsi-yin dotura

Ariγun degedü tngri ner-ün yosuγar

Amuγulang-iyar ĵirγan sayuba.

Arban qoor-a -yin ündüsün-i tasulun törögsen

⁶⁶ 19 r.:... *nigen mori songyufu alayad tngri-dü mörgüged. arban ĵüg-ün eĵen boydayuyan sakiγulsun-i ĵalbariγu sayutala...*

⁶⁷ 20 r.: *köteči.*

⁶⁸ Tib. K'ro t'uñ. He is mentioned here for the first time.

Ayuqu metü geser qayan
Arban tabun toluγaitu aburyusun qayan-i alaγu.
Aliba büγüde bosuyad ḡasa sikir
Aqaban tngri ner-ün orun bayulyaγu
*Abuγsan čadig tegüsbe.*⁶⁹

"Geser Khan who frightened the ten regions
 Having brought to an end all his actions what ever they had been
 Lived in peace and joy
 According the way of the Heavenlies
 In his golden palace
 Near of golden-coloured Ulum tala.
 Geser Khan (so) terrifying,
 born to destroy the roots of the ten evils.
 Killed the monsterking with fifteen heads after
 Everyone who ever it was had risen and his brother
ḡasa sikir had descended from the place of the Heavenlies and had
 taken.

(the monster). The legend ends here)."

It is with all probability a version of the Geser Khan-epic written down in Ordos according to oral tradition. The use of motives and persons from known chapters of the Geser Khanepic and the use of phraseology otherwise used similarly in the Činggis Khan epical poetry⁷⁰ point to a work by a Mongolian storyteller who was familiar with the other forms of the Geser Khan-epic as well as with the heroical Mongol epics.
 Scheut.

VI. CATHOLIC INSTRUCTION

- (46) *Tümen yayuman-u ünenči eki-yin bičig*. Xylograph.
 3 fasc., 82 fol., 25 : 15, 5 (19, 2 : 14) cm, 7 lines. Without date and colophon.

⁶⁹ Chapter X, New Peking edition, II, 52:3

... *amaray ḡasa siker*
aqā-ban tngri ner-eče bayulyaγu.
abuγad aliba amitan-i tegsi ḡiryaγuluγsan
čotong-un arbaduγar bölüg.

⁷⁰ For this kind of poetical sayings cf. N. Poppe, "O drevnemongol'skoj epičeskoj literature," *Sbornik... v čest S. F. Oldenburgu* (Leningrad, 1934), 433 sq.; Heissig, *Bolur erike* (Peking, 1946), 33 sq.

Mongol translation of an apologetical work written by Father Aleni⁷¹ 1625 in Chinese under the title *Wan-wu ken-yüan* 萬物根原.⁷²

Louvain, Seminary.

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⁷¹ He went 1609 to China. Cf. *Variétés Sinologiques*, No. 59 (Shanghai, 1932), 126.

⁷² Joz. Jennes, C.I.C.M., *Het Godsdiensonderricht in China* (Scheut-Brussel, 1942). J. van Hecken mentions this Mongol work not in his survey of catholic tracts in Mongol language (cf. *Etudes Mongoles*, Schriftenreihe der Neuen Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 1947, 5-9). A French translation of the *Wan-wu ken-yüan* in *Coll. Com. Sinodalis* (Peking, 1933), 813 sq., 953 sq., 1031. There, 805 a, No. 7 are mentioned Chinese editions of 1628, 1694, 1791 (Peking) and 1906 and 1924 (T'u-szu-we), but no Mongol edition.

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KULTURELLE BEZIEHUNGEN ZWISCHEN DEN OST-TÜRKEN (= T'U-KÜE) UND CHINA*

von

LIU MAU-TSAI

Universität Göttingen

Bevor wir die gegenseitigen kulturellen Einflüsse untersuchen, soll auf die für die T'u-küe charakteristischen religiösen Vorstellungen, die teils auch bei den Chinesen Parallele finden, hingewiesen werden.

Da ist zuerst die Himmelveherung der T'u-küe zu nennen.¹ Bekanntlich verehren auch die Chinesen den Himmel, und die chinesischen Kaiser leiteten ihre Herrschaft vom Himmel ab. Sie regierten im Auftrag des Himmels und nannten sich Söhne des Himmels. Auch die Khagane benutzten mit Vorliebe Titel wie "Vom Himmel geboren" oder "Sohn des Himmels". Scha-po-lüe trug zum Beispiel den Titel: "Vom Himmel geborenen, weisen, heiligen Sohn des Himmels (*hien-scheng-t'ien-tse*) des Reiches der Gross-T'u-küe."² Diese Bezeichnung *t'ien-tse* (Sohn des Himmels) ist offenbar eine bewusste Nachahmung des höchsten chinesischen Titels und drückt demnach einen Anspruch auf Ebenbürtigkeit aus. Der vollständige Titel von Mo-tsch'o Khagan lautet: "Der im Himmel die Fruchtvergeltung (= *vipāka*) erlangte Sohn (oder Knabe) des Himmels (*t'ien-nan*), der heilige, himmlische Ku-to-lu Mo-tsch'o

* Als Vorabdruck des demnächst in der Reihe *Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen* erscheinenden Buches "Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe)".

¹ Darüber P. Schmidt in *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, IX, 21/39.

² Sui-schu(SS) 84, 3a: *ts'ung-t'ien-scheng ta-t'u-küe t'ien-hia hien-scheng t'ien-tse*... *k'o-han* "Von Himmel geborener, weiser, heiliger Sohn des Himmels des Reiches der Gross-T'u-küe... Khagan." Bei der Deutung dieses Titels erwähnt P. Schmidt, *Gottesidee*, IX, 24f, den Teil *t'ien-tse* (Sohn des Himmels) nicht, weil er sich anscheinend nur auf Wieger's ungenaue Wiedergabe des Titels stützt: "Empereur (für *t'ien-tse*!) et Khan né du Ciel, sage et saint, de la grande nation des Turcs et du monde entier" (nach Schmidt's Angabe).

Khagan der T'u-küe."³ Offensichtlich leitete der Khagan, wie der chinesische Herrscher, seine Macht vom Himmel ab. Eine alttürkische Inschrift lässt Bilgä (= P'i-kia) Khagan sprechen: "Der Himmel, der, damit Name und Ruhm des Türkenvolkes nicht zugrunde gingen, meinen Vater, den Khagan, und meine Mutter, die Khatun, erhöht hatte, der Himmel, der ihnen das Reich gegeben hatte, derselbe Himmel hat, damit Name und Reich des Türkenvolkes nicht zugrunde gingen, jetzt mich selber als Khagan eingesetzt."⁴

Mitte des 5. Monats versammelten sich die T'u-küe am Fluss Tamir, um der Gottheit des Himmels (*t'ien-schen*) zu opfern;⁵ dabei schlachteten sie viele Schafe und Pferde.⁶

Als Sse-kin sein Versprechen, seine Tochter dem Kaiser Wu-ti der Nord-Tschou zur Frau zu geben, nicht einhalten wollte und zufällig ein furchtbares Unwetter ausbrach, geriet er in Furcht, denn er dachte, der Himmel wolle ihn bestrafen. Daraufhin sandte er seine Tochter zu dem Kaiser.⁷

Als die Leute und die Tiere von Ta-t'ou Khagan das von den Chinesen vergiftete Wasser tranken und starben, sagte Ta-t'ou, der Himmel habe böses Wasser herabfallen lassen, um wohl ihn zu vernichten! So floh er.⁸ Auch in einer alttürkischen Inschrift wird von der Strafe des Himmels gesprochen.⁹ Ta-t'ou Khagan war einst über die günstige Nachricht, dass die Chinesen ihre bisherige Kampfmethod aufgegeben hätten, so erfreut, dass er vom Pferde absprang und sich vor dem Himmel verbeugte, um sich zu bedanken.¹⁰

In den alttürkischen Inschriften ist wiederholt von der Gnade bzw. dem Willen des Himmels die Rede.¹¹

Als Bilgä (= P'i-kia) Khagan um den Tod des Kül Tegin trauerte,

³ Tse-tschü-t'ung-kien (TK) (jap. Ausgabe) XII, 107 und Pelliot, "l'Édition collective des oeuvres de Wang Kouo-wei," *TP*, XXVI, 152. Pelliot übersetzt den im Chinesischen angegebenen Titel: "Le qayan Mo-tch'o, qui a obtenu au Ciel la récompense, fils du Ciel, dieu saint des T'ou-kiue, kou-tou-lou" und setzt ihn mit dem alttürkischen gleich: "tängriđä qut bulmis... Türk tängrikän qutluγ Bäg-čor qayan." P. Schmidt, *Gottesidee IX*, 24f hat den Titel nicht erwähnt. Die Bezeichnung *t'ien-nan* (Sohn oder Knabe des Himmels) ist wohl nicht mit dem chinesischen Kaisertitel *t'ien-tse* (Sohn des Himmels) identisch; vielleicht ist sie eine Übersetzung von *tängriđäm* "göttlich".

⁴ Vgl. Thomsen/Schaeder, *Alt. Inschriften* 149; Radloff N. 136.

⁵ Tschou-schu 50, 2b; SS 84, 1b.

⁶ SS 84, 1b.

⁷ Tschou-schu, Po-na, Biogr. 1, 4a.

⁸ SS 51, 4b.

⁹ Thomsen/Schaeder 162.

¹⁰ SS 48, 3a.

¹¹ Thomsen/Schaeder 149 u.a.; Radloff N. 134 u.a.

sagte er: "Die Menschensöhne sind alle geboren, um zu sterben, wenn der Himmel die Zeit bestimmt."¹²

Ferner deutet eine Stelle in den alttürkischen Inschriften auf die Jenseitsvorstellung der T'u-küe: "Jetzt seid Ihr dahingegangen, (aber) im Himmel werdet (oder möget) Ihr wie im Leben sein (nämlich glanzvolle Helden)."¹³

Nicht nur der Himmel, sondern auch die Erde wurde von den T'u-küe verehrt. Die chinesischen Quellen berichten dazu andeutend, dass die T'u-küe das Gebirge in ihrem Stammland Po-teng-ning-li, auf chinesisch "Gottheit der Erde" (*ti-schen*), nannten.¹⁴ In den Inschriften wird auch von der Gnade der Erde gesprochen.¹⁵

Auch ein Ahnenkult wurde bei den T'u-küe festgestellt. Der Khagan führte jährlich seine Edlen zum Opfer in die Ahnenhöhle.¹⁶

Die eigenartige Zeremonie bei der Thronbesteigung, den Khagan mit einem Stück Seide solange zu würgen, bis er fast bewusstlos wird und dann aus dem Halbbewusstlosen orakelhafte Worte herauszupressen, die auf seine Amtsdauer gedeutet werden,¹⁷ kann vielleicht als ein Überbleibsel der schamanistischen Zauberzeremonie ausgelegt werden. Dabei denke ich an die "Ekstase" der Schamanen, die Bezwingung der Geister, die Inkorporierung derselben und schliesslich die Orakelsprüche, also Kennzeichen des Schamanismus.¹⁸ Besteht zwischen dem sonderbaren Vorgang bei der Thronbesteigung und der Amtsausführung eines Schamanen nicht eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit? Allenfalls darf man sagen, dass die merkwürdige Zeremonie ein Element ist, das auch beim Schamanismus zu finden ist. Aus dieser Thronbesteigungszeremonie möchte man fast folgern, dass ihr Herrscher zugleich als oberster Priester des Staates betrachtet wurde, und dass seine Souveränität aus seiner magischen Macht herzuleiten war. Unsere Quellen¹⁹ berichten die Verehrung der Geister und Götter und den Glauben an Exorzistinnen (*wu*) und Exorzisten (*hi*). Die Quellen geben keine eingehendere Auskunft darüber, vielleicht weil die Tätigkeiten der Exorzisten den chinesischen Bericht-

¹² Thomsen/Schaeder 155f.

¹³ Bang's Ergänzung (nach von Gabain's schriftlicher Mitteilung). Nach Thomsen/Schaeder 159: "Nun seid ihr tot. [Seid im?] Himmel wie (ihr) unter den Lebenden (wart)." Nach Radloff N. 155: "(Jetzt) seid ihr gestorben und lebt unter den Himmlichen fort."

¹⁴ Tschou-schu 50, 2b.

¹⁵ Thomsen/Schaeder 143; Radloff N. 153.

¹⁶ Tschou-schu 50, 2b.

¹⁷ Tschou-schu 50, 2a.

¹⁸ P. Schmidt, *Gottesidee* IX, 243 und 271.

¹⁹ SS 84, 1b; Pei-schi (PS) 99, 2b.

erstatteten so allgemein bekannt vorkamen, dass sie nur die Existenz derselben berichteten.²⁰

An Totemismus erinnern folgende Befunde:

Nach ihrer Sage glaubten die T'u-küe an die Abstammung ihrer Ahnen von einer Wölfin.²¹ An die Spitze ihrer Standarte wurde ein goldener Wolfskopf angebracht.²² Ihre Gardeoffiziere wurden Fu-li (türkisch: *böri*) genannt.²³

In dem Bericht über die zu den Türkvölkern zählenden Sie-yen-t'o²⁴ wird berichtet: "Vormals, als die Sie-yen-t'o sich dem Untergang näherten, kam ein Bettler zu einem Angehörigen ihrer Horde. Er wurde von diesem in das Zelt geführt. Als die Frau des Wirtes den Gast sah, merkte sie, dass er den Kopf eines Wolfes hatte, aber der Gastgeber hatte es nicht gemerkt. Nachdem der Gast gegessen hatte, sagte die Frau es ihrem Manne. Nun verfolgten sie gemeinsam den inzwischen weggegangenen Gast und kamen so an den Berg Yü-tu-kün-schan (Ötükän). Dort sah der Bettler die beiden Verfolger und sagte zu ihnen: 'Ich bin ein Gott! Die Sie-yen-t'o werden untergehen!' Die Verfolger gerieten in Furcht und zogen sich zurück. Infolgedessen verlor man ihn. Nun wurden die Sie-yen-t'o tatsächlich unterhalb dieses Berges besiegt."²⁵

Mori Masao meint,²⁶ dass das in dieser Sage erwähnte Wesen mit einem Wolfskopf und einem menschlichen Körper mit tierköpfigen Menschengestalten auf einem Steindenkmal zusammenhänge, welches von S. Rudenko und A. Gluxov in der Nähe des Altai ausgegraben wurde; ferner sei es mit dem in Stein gehauenen entsprechenden Bild, welches von H. Appeltgren-Kivalo in *Altaltaische Kunstdenkmäler* erwähnt wurde, in Verbindung zu bringen. Mori vermutet, dass es sich um eine Opferzeremonie bei den Türkvölkern handle. Der Mann mit

²⁰ Über den chinesischen Schamanismus siehe Schang, *Der Schamanismus in China*, 1/83, und Wang Kuo-Wei/Erkes, "Das chinesische Theater vor der T'ang-Zeit," *AM*, X, 229/32. P. Schmidt, *Gottesidee*, IX, 21/39, geht überhaupt nicht auf den Exorzismus ein und bedauert, dass die Gesamtheit des ihm zur Verfügung stehenden Quellenmaterials sich ausschliesslich in den Religionen der Staatspolitik bewege und das ganz grosse Gebiet der individuellen Religion beiseite lasse.

²¹ Tschou-schu 50, 1a; SS 84, 1a.

²² Tschou-schu 50, 2a; SS 84, 1a.

²³ Tschou-schu 50, 2a.

²⁴ Tang-schu (TS) 217B, 5a.

²⁵ Hirth (Nachworte, 137) hält diese Geschichte über den wolfsköpfigen Bettler für eine symbolische Anspielung auf die zu den Sie-yen-t'o geflüchteten T'u-küe zur Zeit des Hie-li Khagan und nach dessen Tod.

²⁶ In seinem Aufsatz "Kodai churukujin ni okeru rôto no kami ni tsuite" (Über den Gott mit dem Wolfskopf bei den Türken im Altertum) in *Minzokugaku kenkyû*, Bd. 14, Nr. 1, pp. 32/35.

einem Wolfskopf könne ein Schaman gewesen sein, der bei der Zaubereremonie eine Wolfsmaske getragen haben könnte. In der erwähnten Sage sei die Zuverlässigkeit der bei solcher Zeremonie gemachten Weissagung der Schamanen besonders hervorgehoben worden. Dies alles ist aber immer noch Hypothese!

Zusammenfassend kann man wohl sagen, dass der Wolf für die T'u-küe eine magische Bedeutung hatte. Es wäre vielleicht begrüßenswert, hier die von Tamura Jitsuzô²⁷ aufgestellten drei Grundtypen der Sagen über die Urahnen bei den Nordvölkern zu erwähnen:

(1) Die Sagen über die geschlechtliche Verbindung zwischen einer Wölfin und einem Menschen bei den Türkvölkern, wie Kao-kü, T'u-küe, usw.;

(2) Die Sagen über die unbefleckte (!) Empfängnis bei den als Tungusen bezeichneten Völkern, wie Fu-yü, Kao-li, Po-tsi, Mandschu, usw.;

(3) Die Sagen über die Begattung zwischen Wolf und Hirsch sowie die unbefleckte Empfängnis bei den Mongolen, erwähnt in Yüan-tsch'ao-pi-schi.

1. CHINESISCHE EINFLÜSSE

a) T'a-po Khagan bekannte sich unter dem Einfluss des buddhistischen Mönches Hui-lin der Nord-Ts'i zum Buddhismus, liess buddhistische Klöster bauen und sandte Botschafter zu den Nord-Ts'i, um Sutren holen zu lassen.²⁸ Der Kaiser der Nord-Ts'i liess Liu Schi-ts'ing das Nirvâṇa-Sûtra in die Sprache der T'u-küe übersetzen und schenkte es dem Khagan.²⁹ Dies kann sehr wohl durch die bereits erwähnte Bitte des T'a-po Khagan veranlasst worden sein.

Als der aus Gandhâra stammende Mönch Jinagupta wegen des Verbots des Buddhismus durch die Nord-Tschou im Jahr 574 ausgewiesen wurde, wurde er auf der Heimreise durch das Gebiet der T'u-küe von T'a-po gebeten, dort zu bleiben. Dort übersetzte er mit 11 Mönchen der Nord-Ts'i Sutren und verbreitete den Buddhismus unter den T'u-küe.³⁰ T'a-po Khagan hat sich also sehr bemüht, den Buddhismus unter seinen Leuten zu verbreiten.

²⁷ In "Tôdai ni okeru kittanzoku no kenkyû" (Studium über die K'i-tan in der T'ang-Dynastie) in *Manmôshi ronsô*, Bd. 1.

²⁸ SS 84, 1b. Über den Buddhismus bei den T'u-küe siehe die eingehende Untersuchung von von Gabain in *Asiatica*, 161/73.

²⁹ Pei-ts'i-schu 20, 2a.

³⁰ Tripiṭaka Bd. 55, 276bf und Bd. 50, 433cf. Chavannes hat die Biographie in *TP*, B. VI, 332/56 übersetzt.

Als P'i-kia (Bilgä = Klein-Schad) in der T'ang-Zeit sich buddhistische und taoistische (!) Tempel bauen lassen wollte, sprach er mit Tun-yü-ku darüber, aber dieser erwiderte: "Wir dürfen nicht feste Bauten errichten und dadurch unsere alte Sitte, ungebunden zu sein, zerstören. Andernfalls würden wir von den T'ang vernichtet werden. Übrigens bringen die buddhistischen und taoistischen Lehren den Menschen Güte und Schwäche bei, und dies ist kein richtiger Weg, Kriege zu führen und Macht zu gewinnen." Daraufhin gab der Khagan das Vorhaben auf.³¹ Dies alles besagt zwar, dass erst unter T'a-po der Buddhismus von den T'u-küe gefördert wurde, aber nicht, dass die T'u-küe erst seit T'a-po den Buddhismus kennenlernten. In folgendem soll versucht werden, zu zeigen, dass die T'u-küe bereits viel früher mit dem Buddhismus in Kontakt gekommen waren.

Einige Quellen³² berichten über den Bau eines T'u-küe-Tempels in der Hauptstadt Tsch'ang-an für den Khagan durch Yü-wen Hu, und zwar bereits zur Zeit des Mu-han Khagan. Man darf daraus folgern, dass also bereits vor T'a-po Khagan die T'u-küe den Buddhismus kennen gelernt hatten. Nur ist es fraglich, in welchem Ausmass der Buddhismus bei ihnen verbreitet war. Es ist anzunehmen, dass zumindest die herrschende Schicht sehr früh mit dem Buddhismus bekannt geworden ist. Denn auch die Juan-juan, die vor den T'u-küe im Norden die Oberherrschaft hatten, waren schon mit dem Buddhismus in Berührung gekommen. In dem Bericht über die Juan-juan in Pei-schi³³ wird folgendes berichtet: "Im 9. Monat des Jahres 511 sandte der Khagan Tsch'ou-nu den buddhistischen Mönch Hung-süan zu den Nord-Wei, um ihnen Rosenkränze und Buddha-Bilder zu schenken." Dazu erfährt man aus dem Kao-seng-tschuan:³⁴ "Der buddhistische Mönch Fa-ai aus Lung-si war 'Staatslehrer' (*kuo-schi*)³⁵ der Jui-jui (= Juan-juan) und erhielt als Gehalt die Abgaben von 3000 Familien." Es dürfte wohl nicht abwegig sein, anzunehmen, dass die damals den Juan-juan als Eisenschmiede dienenden T'u-küe ebenfalls mit dem Buddhismus vertraut waren.

Ausserdem waren die T'u-küe sicherlich mit dem Taoismus in Kontakt gekommen, denn sonst würde im Gespräch zwischen P'i-kia und Tun-yü-ku nicht von taoistischen Tempeln die Rede gewesen sein.

³¹ Kiu-t'ang-schu (KTS) 194A, 10af; TS 215B, 1a.

³² Wang-sse-k'ung-tsi in Han-wei-liu-tsch'ao po-san-ming-kia-tsi 16a, sowie Tripiṭaka Bd. 49,800b und Bd. 52, 508b.

³³ PS 98, 4b.

³⁴ Tripiṭaka Bd. 50, 376c.

³⁵ Kuo-schi (Staatslehrer), darüber siehe Pellio, "Les Kouo-che ou "maître du Royaume" dans le bouddhisme chinois," TP, XII, 671/76.

b) Bevor die T'u-küe einen Raubüberfall unternahmen, besuchten sie den Fu-yün-(Wolken vertreibenden)-Göttertempel, um Wein zu opfern und um Glück zu beten.³⁶

Als sie erfuhren, dass Tsch'eng Wu-t'ing, der An-fu-ta-schi (Beruhigungs- und Befriedungs-Grosskommissar) war, gestorben sei, veranstalteten sie überall Trinkgelage, um die günstige Nachricht zu feiern. Dann errichteten sie einen Tempel für Tsch'eng Wu-t'ing. Jedesmal, wenn sie ihre Armee in Bewegung setzten, beteten sie zuerst dort.³⁷

Auch diese beiden Tatsachen dürften wohl auf ihre Götter- und Geisterverehrung³⁸ oder aber auch auf chinesische Einflüsse zurückzuführen sein.

c) Die T'u-küe wählten einen Tag aus, um die Leiche eines Verstorbenen zu verbrennen.³⁹ Hier erhebt sich die Frage, wonach sie denn den Tag gewählt haben. Aus dieser knappen Notiz lässt sich nicht folgern, dass sie den günstigen Begräbnistag etwa auf Grund eines Kalenders gewählt hätten. Auch die unmittelbar folgende Nachricht spricht dagegen: "Der Zeitpunkt des Begräbnisses richtete sich nach dem Welken bzw. Grünen der Pflanzen." Dies wird durch weitere Berichte in denselben⁴⁰ und anderen Quellen⁴¹ ausdrücklich bestätigt: "Sie kannten keinen Jahreskalender, und das Grünen des Grases diente ihnen als Merkmal." Demnach hatten sie also, jedenfalls anfangs, keinen Jahreskalender gehabt. Ob sie nun inzwischen durch ihre eigene Erfindung, oder durch die Vermittlung anderer Nomadenvölker,⁴² oder aber erst durch den immer enger werdenden Kontakt mit den chinesischen Kaiserhäusern, wie Nord-Tschou, Nord-Ts'i und Sui, den Zwölferzyklus zur Datierung der Jahre, ja die Datierung überhaupt, eingeführt haben, vermag ich noch nicht zu klären. Die späteren Quellen⁴³ erwähnen den Brief Scha-po-lüe's an den Kaiser der Sui, welcher folgendes Datum trägt: "Drachen-(*tsch'en*)Jahr (584), 9. Monat, 10. Tag." Demzufolge kannten die T'u-küe damals den Zwölferzyklus. Kurz darauf, i.J. 586, wurde ihnen als Symbol der Untertänigkeit der chinesische Kalender verliehen.⁴⁴

³⁶ KTS, Po-na, Biogr. 43, 5a.

³⁷ KTS 83, 6b.

³⁸ SS 84, 1b.

³⁹ Tschou-schu 50, 2a; PS 99, 2b.

⁴⁰ Tschou-schu 50, 2b; PS 99, 2b.

⁴¹ T'ung-tien (TT) 197, 3a; Wen-hien-t'ung-k'ao 343, 2a.

⁴² Pelliot (*TP*, XXVI, 209) vermutet, dass die T'u-küe die Datierung mit dem Zwölferzyklus höchstwahrscheinlich ihren Vorgängern, nämlich den Juan-juan, zu verdanken hätten.

⁴³ SS 84, 3a 33; PS 99, 4b.

⁴⁴ SS 1, 10a.

d) Die Toten wurden ursprünglich verbrannt, und nur die Asche begraben.⁴⁵ Jedoch schon im Jahr 628 sagte Kaiser T'ai-tsung der T'ang: "Früher war es bei den T'u-küe Sitte, Leichen zu verbrennen, aber jetzt (!) begraben sie sie und errichten Grabhügel."⁴⁶ Auch diese Veränderung der Sitte scheint entweder von den Chinesen oder anderen Nomaden-völkern, wie T'ie-lê, beeinflusst zu sein.

Chinesische Künstler begaben sich zu den T'u-küe, errichteten für Kül Tegin und Bilgä Khagan je einen Gedächtnistempel mit Malereien und einen Grabstein (732 bzw. 735).⁴⁷

e) Als Kaiser Kao-tsu der T'ang kurz vor seiner Erhebung ein Schreiben an Schi-pi Khagan richtete und der zuständige Beamte ihn bat, die Adresse des Schreibens, die die Gleichberechtigung der Partner ausdrückte, zu ändern, sagte der Kaiser: "Da neuerdings viele chinesische Gelehrte zu den T'u-küe gegangen sind, existiert auch der chinesische Ritus bei ihnen . . . , darum wollen wir keine diskriminierende Anschrift anwenden."⁴⁸ Dieser Äusserung nach kannten die T'u-küe also den chinesischen Ritus.

Hie-li Khagan stellte den Chinesen Tschao Tê-yen als Berater an und betraute ihn mit politischen Aufgaben. Dieser änderte viele ihrer alten Sitten.⁴⁹

f) Mo-tsch'o interessierte sich sogar für einen berühmten chinesischen Prosaschriftsteller, Tschang Wen-tsch'eng.⁵⁰ Dies deutet an, dass er eine gewisse Kenntnis der chinesischen Literatur vermittelt bekommen hatte. Andernfalls würde er den gefangengenommenen chinesischen Eunuchen nicht nach dem Wohlbefinden eines Literaten gefragt haben.

Den bisher erwähnten geistigen Einflüssen sollen nun materielle folgen:

g) Als K'i-min Khagan im Jahr 607 den Kaiser der Sui bat, chinesische Tracht einführen zu dürfen, wurde ihm die Bitte nicht gewährt. Vermutlich wollten die T'u-küe auch äusserlich den chinesischen Untertanen des Kaisers gleich sein, aber es wurde ihnen mitgeteilt, dass sie bei ihrer Tracht bleiben sollten zur Unterscheidung ihrer Volkszugehörigkeit.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Tschou-schu 50, 2a. Thomsen zitiert irrtümlich, dass die Leiche mit der Asche des Leibbroses begraben wird (Thomsen/Schaeder 132). Tschou-schu 50, 2a schreibt jedoch eindeutig, dass auch die Leiche verbrannt und ihre Asche begraben wird.

⁴⁶ TS 215A, 5b; vgl. von Gabain, "Steppe und Stadt," in *Islam*, 29, 37.

⁴⁷ TS 215B, 2a; vgl. Thomsen/Schaeder 143f und 157f.

⁴⁸ T'u-schu-tsi-tsch'eng (TSTT), Pien-i-tien 131, 2, 2af.

⁴⁹ TS 215A, 6a; TK XI, 109.

⁵⁰ KTS 149, 7b.

⁵¹ SS 84, 6a.

Wie bereits erwähnt, werden die vielen Lieferungen von Seide und Leinwand aus China nach und nach Änderungen ihrer Kleidung verursacht haben.

Im Jahr 608 erfüllte der Kaiser den sehnlichsten Wunsch K'i-min Khagan's und baute für ihn eine Burg und Häuser nach chinesischer Art mit Balken und Räumen. K'i-min hielt nämlich die Filzwände und -Vorhänge, d.h. die Zelte der T'u-küe, für zu primitiv. Nicht nur Häuser, sondern auch dazu gehörende Gegenstände, wie Vorhänge, Bettzeug usw. sollte er auf Befehl des Kaisers je nach Bedarf erhalten.⁵²

h) Die Beute und die Geschenke von chinesischen Kaisern haben wohl nicht nur der Deckung ihres Lebensbedarfs gedient, sondern darüber hinaus der Hebung ihres Lebensstandards. Zum Beispiel: Die Seide war zuerst sicherlich ein Luxusartikel für sie gewesen; schliesslich ist sie aber, insbesondere wohl für die herrschende Schicht, immer unentbehrlicher geworden.

Sowohl die zurückgekehrten zahlreichen Botschafter und die "aufwartenden Söhne", die am chinesischen Hofe die kulturellen Einrichtungen kennengelernt hatten, als auch die chinesischen Prinzessinnen, die mit den Khaganen vermählt waren und die Kulturgüter als Aussteuer mitgenommen hatten, haben zweifellos vielseitige kulturelle Einflüsse, geistige und materielle, auf die T'u-küe ausgeübt.

2. EINFLÜSSE DER T'U-KÜE

a) Im Laufe meiner Untersuchungen konnte ich nur zwei Namen von Chinesen feststellen, welche nach Angaben der Texte die Sprache der T'u-küe beherrscht haben. Der eine, Liu Schi-ts'ing, hat unter den Nord-Ts'i das Nirvâṇa-Sûtra in die Sprache der T'u-küe übersetzt.⁵³ Der andere, Wu Yen-siu, verstand die T'u-küe-Sprache, weil er von 698 bis 705 von ihnen zurückgehalten worden war. Er konnte ihre Lieder singen und den "Drehtanz der Hu-Barbaren" tanzen.⁵⁴

Tatsächlich dürfte die Kenntnis der T'u-küe-Sprache unter den Chinesen doch etwas weiter verbreitet gewesen sein. Darauf deutet auch die Tatsache, dass damals ein Wörterbuch für die T'u-küe-Sprache vorhanden war! Diese Nachricht vermittelt uns Ishida Mikinosuke⁵⁵ an

⁵² SS 3, 5b.

⁵³ Pei-ts'i-schu 20, 2a.

⁵⁴ KTS 183, 6a; TS 206, 3b.

⁵⁵ In seinem *Tôshi sôshô* (Beiträge zur T'ang-Geschichte), 263.

Hand des "Katalogs der in Japan vorhandenen Bücher" von Fujiwara Sukeyo.⁵⁶ Ishida berichtet, dass in diesem Bücherkatalog unter den Wörterbüchern für fremde Sprachen, welche in den Literaturkapiteln des Sui-schu und der beiden T'ang-schu nicht erwähnt worden sind, die aber glücklicherweise damals nach Japan gebracht und dort Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts noch vorhanden waren, auch ein Wörterbuch mit dem Titel *T'u-küe-yü* (T'u-küe-Sprache) aus einem Kapitel aufgeführt sei. Leider enthalte der Katalog keine näheren Angaben über das Wörterbuch; das Buch selbst sei nicht mehr vorhanden.

b) Die grosse Bedeutung der "Hu-Musik" für die Entwicklung der chinesischen Musik ist bekannt. Das Wort *Hu* in Hu-Melodien bzw. in Hu-Musik deutet nicht nur auf die Nord-, sondern in stärkerem Ausmass auch auf die West-"Barbaren", d.h. die Völker aus Zentralasien. Denn die sogenannte Musik der Neun Abteilungen, *Kiu-pu-yü*, welche die T'ang schon von Anfang an von den Sui übernommen hatten, umfasste auch die Musik aus *Kiu-tse* (Kutscha), aus Staat *An* (Bukhâra), *Su-lê* (Kaschgar), und Staat *K'ang* (Samarkand).⁵⁷ Später kam noch die Musik von *Kao-tsch'ang* (Turfan) hinzu. Wichtig ist für uns jedoch vor allem, dass unter dieser Hu-Musik auch die Musik der T'u-küe vertreten war! Die Musik der T'u-küe wird bereits im Sui-schu ausdrücklich angeführt:⁵⁸ "Bei der Einführung der Jahresdevise *K'ai-huang* (581) liessen die Sui die Musik der Sieben Abteilungen, *Ts'i-pu-yü*, errichten:

- (1) Reichsmusik, d.h. *Si-liang-Musik*;⁵⁹
- (2) *Ts'ing-schang-Musik*, d.h. chinesische Musik;
- (3) *Kao-li-Musik*;
- (4) *T'ien-tschu*-(Indien)Musik;
- (5) Musik des Staates *An* (Bukhâra);
- (6) *Kiu-tse*-(Kutscha) Musik;
- (7) *Wen-k'ang-Musik*.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ *Nipponkoku genzaisho mokuroku* von Fujiwara Sukeyo, verfasst 891–897, in einem Band, enthält die am Anfang der Hei-an-Zeit (784–1192) in Japan vorhandenen chinesischen Bücher (*Shina gakugei daijii*, 991).

⁵⁷ TT 146, 2a.

⁵⁸ SS 15, 15a. In den umfangreichen Musikkapiteln der späteren Dynastiegeschichten wird die T'u-küe-Musik nicht mehr genannt.

⁵⁹ Die *Si-liang-Musik* entstand zur Zeit des *Lü Kuang*, des Gründers der Späteren *Liang* (385–403) und des *Tsü-kü Meng-sün*, des Gründers der Nord-*Liang* (397–439) in *Liang-tschou* durch Verschmelzung der chinesischen mit der *Kiu-tse* (Kutscha) Musik. Unter den Nord-Wei wurde sie *Kuo-ki* (Staatsmusik) genannt. (SS 15, 15b; *Toyō Rekishi Daijiten* (TRD) 4–75A).

⁶⁰ Die *Wen-k'ang-Musik* ist eine Trauermusik um *Yü Liang* der *Tsin* (265–419), der posthum *Wen-k'ing* hiess, und wird immer zum Schluss der Musikvorführungen gespielt (TRD 4–241A).

Ausserdem gab es noch die Musik von Su-lê (Kaschgar), Fu-nan (Kambodscha), Staat K'ang (Samarkand), Po-tsi, T'u-küe (!), Sin-lo und Staat Wo (Japan)."

Nach dem Sui-schu wurde bereits durch die Heirat der Kaiserin A-schi-na mit Kaiser Wu-ti der Nord-Tschou (568) die Musik der Völker in Zentralasien nach China gebracht:⁶¹ "Als der Kaiser die Kaiserin (A-schi-na) von den Nordbarbaren (d.h. T'u-küe!) holte, erhielt er die von ihnen erbeutete Musik der Staaten K'ang (Samarkand), Kiu-tse (Kutscha) und andere." Dieser Bericht wird später vom Kiu-t'ang-schu⁶² ergänzt: "Kaiser Wu-ti der Nord-Tschou machte die Tochter der Barbaren zur Kaiserin, und die Leute aus den Ländern der Westlande kamen als Brautsbegleiter. Von da an gab es die Musik von Kiu-tse (Kutscha), Su-lê (Kaschgar), Staat An (Bukhâra) und Staat K'ang (Samarkand)."

Eine Türkin, Frau des A-pu-sse, war 754 am Kaiserhof als Schauspielerin tätig.⁶³

c) Zur Zeit der Nord-Tschou zählten diejenigen T'u-küe, die unter glänzenden Lebensbedingungen in der chinesischen Hauptstadt weilten, oft Tausende;⁶⁴ und in der T'ang-Zeit lebten einige tausend Familien der T'u-küe in der Hauptstadt Tsch'ang-an.⁶⁵ Die Biographie von Wen Yen-po⁶⁶ spricht 630 sogar von 10.000 Familien. Darunter befanden sich die sogenannten "aufwartenden Söhne", die als Geiseln am Hofe weilten. Im Lo-yang kia-lan-ki⁶⁷ von Yang Hüan der Nord-Wei wird folgendes berichtet: "Die Häuptlingssöhne der Nordbarbaren, die als Geiseln an den kaiserlichen Hof geschickt wurden, pflegten im Herbst zu kommen und im Frühjahr wegzugehen, um der Hitze in China zu entgehen. Die Zeitgenossen nannten sie Wildgans-Vasallen." Ferner kamen ständig Botschafter der T'u-küe an. Wenn Ausländer zur Aufwartung kamen, wurden ihr Aussehen und ihre Kleidung (!) skizziert, und die Skizzen dem Kaiser vorgelegt.⁶⁸

Dass diese Leute Einflüsse auf das Leben der Chinesen in der Hauptstadt ausgeübt haben, dürfte nicht zu bezweifeln sein! Dafür kann ein

⁶¹ SS 14, 17b; TT 142, 4b.

⁶² KTS, Po-na, Tschü 9, 6a; TT 146, 4a.

⁶³ Yin-hua-lu 1a (nach Edwards, *Prose Literature*, 108).

⁶⁴ Tschou-schu 50, 3a.

⁶⁵ KTS 194A, 5b.

⁶⁶ KTS 61, 2a, siehe auch T'ang-hui-yao 73, 1314.

⁶⁷ Lo-yang-kia-lan-ki von Yang Hüan in Tripitaka Bd. 51, 1012b; TSTT, K'ao-kung-tien 72, 5a.

⁶⁸ TS 46, 8a.

sehr aufschlussreiches Beispiel angeführt werden: "Als Prinz (Li) Tsch'eng-k'ien der T'ang noch klein war, liebte er die Sprache und die Kleidung der T'u-küe! Er suchte Spielgefährten aus, die den Barbaren ähnelten, und liess sie Schafspelz und Zopf tragen, um mit Zelten, Flaggen mit Wolfsköpfen, Schafen und Pferden, das Leben der T'u-küe nachahmend, zu spielen. Ja, er möchte ein Schad des Khagan werden."⁶⁹ Das Beispiel zeigt uns ganz eindeutig, wie stark die Einflüsse der T'u-küe, insbesondere auf den Kaiserhof, waren. Es deutet auch auf ihre modischen Einflüsse auf die Chinesen. Auch folgende Nachricht aus dem Kiao-fang-ki (Bericht über die Lehranstalt für Musik und Tanz)⁷⁰ von Ts'ui Ling-k'in der T'ang-Zeit ist sehr aufschlussreich: "Diejenigen Mädchen in der Lehranstalt (für Musik und Tanz), deren Gesinnung verwandt war, schlossen feierlich Bruderschaft (*hiang-huo-hiung-ti*); oft erreichte (die Mitgliedszahl einer Bruderschaft) sogar 14-15 Personen, und mindestens war sie nicht unter 8-9 Personen. Wenn ein Jüngling eines (der Mädchen der Bruderschaft) heiratete, wurde (er) sodann mit einer Frauenbezeichnung benannt: diejenigen (der Bruderschaft), welche älter als das verheiratete (Mädchen) waren, riefen (ihn) nämlich bei der Begegnung 'junge Frau' (*sin-fu*), und diejenigen, die jünger waren, riefen (ihn) bei der Begegnung 'ältere Schwägerin' (*sao*) . . .

Wenn ein Jüngling ein Mädchen geheiratet hatte, eilten viele der älteren und jüngeren Mitglieder der feierlichen Bruderschaft, welcher das Mädchen angehörte, (zu dem Manne), um mit ihm in ein unerlaubtes Verhältnis zu kommen; dabei meinten sie, sie ahmten die Sitte der T'u-küe nach; ferner sagten sie sich: 'wir Brüder' (d.h. Mädchen der Bruderschaft) lieben einander und wollen nämlich die 'Braut' (d.h. den Bräutigam) kosten.⁷¹ Die Hausherrin wurde auch nicht eifersüchtig, wenn sie es erfuhr. Mit (Mitgliedern) anderer feierlichen (Bruderschaft) fand jedoch (solche unerlaubte) Verbindung nicht statt."

Ferner bringt folgende Stelle aus dem Yü-fu-tschü des Kiu-t'ang-schu⁷² die starken Einflüsse der Fremdvölker zum Ausdruck: "Seit den Jahren K'ai-yüan (713) bevorzugte die von Kaiser Huan-tsung eingeführte T'ai-tsch'ang-Musik die Hu-k'ü, (d.h. Barbaren-Melodien); die Edlen liessen sich zu ihren Mahlzeiten nur noch Hu-schi, (Barbaren-

⁶⁹ TS 80, 1af.

⁷⁰ Kiao-fang-ki 3b; siehe auch Hiang Ta, T'ang-tai Tsch'ang-an yü si-yü-wen-ming 41. Über Kiao-fang (Lehranstalt für Musik und Tanz) siehe des Rotours 335/6.

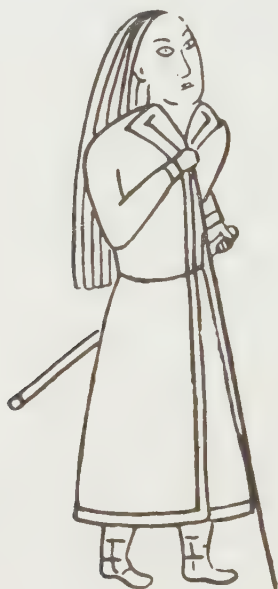
⁷¹ Dies deutet wohl auch das Levirat der T'u-küe an.

⁷² KTS 45, 11b.

Speisen), vorsetzen; und Männer und Frauen trugen schliesslich alle Hu-fu, (Barbaren-Kleidung).⁷³

Auch das Kü-fu-tschi des T'ang-schu⁷⁴ berichtet: "Während der Jahre K'ai-yüan (713-741) . . . trugen Männer und Frauen die Hu-Kleidung."

Nach Harada Yoshito's Feststellung⁷⁵ war die Kleidung einiger ausgegrabenen als Grabbeigaben dienenden Tonfiguren aus der T'ang-Zeit, wie die Jacke des heutigen Anzuges, mit Kragenrevers versehen und wurde sowohl von den T'ang-Bürgern als auch von den Hu-Barbaren getragen; diese Kleidung ähnelt der Kleidung eines T'u-küe-Mannes auf dem Bild, welches in den östlich von Uliassutai in Bičiktu Pulung der



Mongolei, gefundenen alten Grabstein eingehauen war (s. Abbild.). So vermutet Harada in dieser Kleidung mit Kragenrevers die sogenannte Hu-Kleidung⁷⁶ der T'ang-Zeit.

⁷³ In meiner Arbeit habe ich zu wiederholten Malen auf die Mehrdeutigkeit der chinesischen Bezeichnung *hu* für "Barbaren" hingewiesen. Es ist zwar bekannt, dass *hu* in der T'ang-Zeit vor allem die Sogdier bezeichnet, wie zuletzt wieder Pulleyblank wohl am gründlichsten nachgewiesen hat. Daneben hat aber *hu* gelegentlich auch unzweideutig "T'u-küe" bedeutet, wie ich feststellen konnte.

⁷⁴ TS 24, 8af.

⁷⁵ Shina tôdai no fukushoku 76.

⁷⁶ Über die Hu-Kleidung s. Wang Kuo-Wei's "Ku-hu-fu-k'ao" in *Sie-t'ang-ts'ung-k'o*, pp. 1/30; er stellt, wie auch uns das Li-i-tschi des Sui-schu 12, 4a, 7af und 8b sowie das Yü-fu-tschi des Kiu-t'ang-schu 45, 3bf, 5a, 6a, 7a und 9af zeigen, fest, dass auch die

Sogar der berühmte Dichter Po Kü-i (772-846) ahmte die Sitte der Türkvolker nach, indem er im kalten Winter ein Filzzelt in seinem Hof aufstellte, um es sich bei Ofenfeuer und Wein, mit oder ohne Gäste, gemütlich zu machen. Er hat das in zwei langen Gedichten besungen, auf die Ishida Mikinosuke⁷⁷ erstmalig aufmerksam gemacht hat, und welche wir anschliessend in Übersetzung vorlegen. In Ts'ing-tschan-tschang "Blaues Filzzelt" berichtet der Dichter über den Ursprung des Zeltes und seine Einfuhr aus dem Norden durch die Umsiedlung der Nomaden nach dem Süden, und lobt die Gemütlichkeit im Zelte bei Sturm und Schnee. In Pie tschan-tschang-huo-lu "Abschied von Filzzelt und Ofen" nimmt der Dichter feierlich und voller Dankbarkeit Abschied von seinem Zelt, weil es draussen warm geworden ist. Ishida folgert aus den Gedichten, dass zur T'ang-Zeit in Nordchina die vornehme Welt diese merkwürdige Sitte angenommen haben müsse. Wenn man sich auch hüten muss, die Verbreitung dieser Mode sich allzu allgemein vorzustellen, so kann man doch wohl annehmen, dass mancher vornehme Herr dem so berühmten Poeten darin nachgeeifert hat! Es ist ausser Zweifel, dass die T'u-küe solche Zelte schon früh nach China gebracht haben. Zum Beispiel: Hie-li Khagan liess sich im Jahr 630 in seinem Exil in der chinesischen Hauptstadt Zelte aufschlagen, um darin zu wohnen.⁷⁸ Vermutlich hatte schon damals das Zeltleben der chinesischen vornehmen Welt imponiert.

Die beiden Gedichte von Po Kü-i haben folgenden Wortlaut:⁷⁹

DAS BLAUE FILZZELT

Wolle von tausend Schafen wird zusammengetragen;
 Hunderte von Ringen werden einandergefügt;
 Das runde Gestell ist aus Ufer-Weiden und stark;
 Gefärbt wird es im frischen Blau des nördlichen (Himmels).
 So wurde (das Zelt) im Norden von den Kriegern geschaffen
 Und kam mit den Barbaren weiter nach Süden.
 Auch ein starker Sturm kann es nicht erschüttern;
 Es hält den Regen ab und wird durch die Nässe fester;
 Es hat ein Dach mit einer Spitze in der Mitte;
 Es ist ohne Ecken und an den vier Seiten rund;
 An der Seite öffnet sich eine breite Tür;

Sui und die T'ang neben der chinesischen Kleidung, insbesondere dem *p'ao* (langen Rock) die Kleidung, Hose und Jacke (*k'u-si*) übernommen haben, eine Kleidung, die er zu der Hu-Kleidung zählt.

⁷⁷ In seinem *Tôshi sôshô* 144/55.

⁷⁸ TS 215A, 6b.

⁷⁹ Po-schi tsch'ang-k'ing-tsi 64, 357 bzw. 51, 282.

Im Innern ist es behaglich und warm.
 Weit getrennt vom Jenseits der Passhöhen
 Steht es erstmalig vorn in (meinem) Hofe.
 In einer Mondscheinnacht zeigt sich sein verlassener Schatten,
 Und in einem bitterkalten Jahr steigt sein Wert.
 Weiche, warme Filzdecken liegen rings herum;
 Klingende Instrumente werden dort aufbewahrt.
 Äusserst geeignet ist es bei reifbedecktem Boden,
 Und besonders lobenswert unter schneeverhangenem Himmel.
 Zur Seite steht ein niedriger Sängersitz;
 Flach, liegt eine kleine Tanzmatte.
 Habe ich Musse, hebe ich oft den Vorhang und trete ein;
 Bin ich im Rausch, dann hülle ich mich in einen Rock und schlafe.
 Die Lampe auf dem eisernen Ständer wird beiseite gestellt.
 Der brennende Zeltofen hängt in der Höhe:
 Tief (im Ofen) verbergen sich die Flammen wie die Morgenorchideen;
 Und insgeheim sammelt sich darin der Rauch, der dem Nacht-Weihrauch gleicht.
 So braucht man sich nicht (dem Feuer) der Tierknochen-Kohle zu nähern;
 Auch auf einen Fuchspelz kann verzichtet werden!
 Der Tuschreibestein erwärmt sich und es schmilzt die gefrorene Tusche;
 Die Flasche wird warm und zaubert eine Frühlingsquelle hervor.
 Selbst ein "Orchideen"-Bettvorhang bemüht sich vergeblich, Einsiedler
 [heranzulocken;
 Und auch eine Schilfhütte eignet sich nicht so zur Versenkung.
 Aber (um dieses Zelt) sollen (mich) besitzlose Mönche beneiden;
 Arme Scholaren werden sich sicher nicht gern davon trennen!
 (Meine) Gäste werden darin empfangen;
 (Meine) Nachkommen werden es weiter vererben.
 Sind auch Fürstenhäuser noch so stolz auf ihre Altertümer,
 So kommen sie doch (meinem) blauen Filz-(Zelt) keineswegs gleich!

ABSCHIED VON FILZZELT UND OFEN

Ich denke zurück an die Wintermonate,
 An den Nordwind und den drei Fuss hohen Schnee.
 Ich bin schon alt und kann keine Kälte mehr vertragen;
 Wie hätte ich die langen Nächte verbringen können?
 Zum Glück war das blaue Filzzelt da:
 Es wurde von mir selbst im Winde aufgestellt.
 Dazu kam noch dieser rotglühende Ofen:
 Er wärmte mich beim Schnee.
 Wie ein Fisch, der in ein abgründiges Wasser hineinspringt
 Und wie ein Hase, der sich in einer tiefen Höhle verbirgt, (fühlte ich mich):
 Die erstarrten Schuppen werden durch die Behaglichkeit wieder lebendig;
 Und durch die Wärme gesundet die erfrorrene Haut.
 Kaum sind die trüben, kalten Abende vorüber,
 Da bricht schon die warme Jahreszeit an.

Leider hat sich die Zeit verändert,
Und es ist nicht etwa, dass ich undankbar bin.
Der wollene (Zelt-)Vorhang bleibt Tag für Tag aufgerollt;
Das duftende Feuer ist zu Asche erloschen.
Der traurige Abschied erfolgt (jetzt) im Frühling,
Aber ein erfreuliches Wiedersehen wird es im zehnten Monde geben!
Möge nur dieser Körper gesund bleiben,
Dann brauchten wir keinen Abschied für lange Zeit zu nehmen!

THE SYLLABIC GROUPS AND THEIR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT IN THE WRITTEN OIRAT LANGUAGE

PART I

by

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To Prof. Dr. N. N. Poppe's sixtieth birthday

List of abbreviations: CoMo. = Common Mongolian. – Mo. = Written Mongolian. – Kalm. = Kalmuk. – Dörb. = Dialect of the Dörbets. – Torg. = Dialect of the Torghuts. – Oir. = Written Oirbat or Written Kalmuk. – MDörb. = Malodörbet of Astrakhan. – TorgS. = Torgut in Sinkiang. – Buz. = Dialect of the Buzawa Kalmuk. – TorgV. = Volga Torghut. – Chag. = Chagatai Turkish. – Kirg. = Kirghiz. – Kaz. = Kazakh. – Ma. = Manchu. – Hung. = Hungarian. – Osm. = Osmanli. – Alt. = Altai-Turkic. – Koib. = Koibal.

Introduction

The Written Oirat Language (often simply called Written Kalmuk) was used by the Dörbets of Astrakhan and Stavropol, the Buzawa Kalmuks, the Great-Dörbets,¹ the Ural Kalmuks (Torghut), the Orenburg Kalmuks (Torghut), the Sart-Kalmuks,² the Khobdo-Dörbets, the Baïts, the Altai Torghuts, the Altai Uriyaŋkhais, the Sakhachins, the Dambi Ölöts, and

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¹ B. Y. Vladimirtsov mentions this group, among others. It is obvious that in this case he confuses an administrative unit with an ethnic sub-group. The term 'Great Dörbet' refers to one of the pre-revolutionary Kalmuk ulus'. The names of the ulus' were: erkətn, xosūd, yandᠤᠭ, baγᠣ ulʷs, ikʷ ulʷs, baγᠣ tsoxʷr and ikʷ tsoxʷr.

² The Sart-Kalmuks are now Moslems. They were converted to the religion of Islam at the beginning of the XVIIIth century. Ever since, they have been using the Chagatai language as their written language, and also Arabian, of course, for religious purposes.

the Mingats. The only place where written Oirat is still used seems to be Sinkiang. In the Western part of Outer Mongolia, Written Oirat definitely has ceased to exist. Strangely enough, the Telenjit, a Turkic tribe which nomadizes along the banks of Chuya River, used Written Oirat as their written language until 1930. The Western Mongols (the Oirat, generally known as Dörben Oirat [“the four Oirats”]) comprised four confederated tribes: The Torghuts (*torγūd*), the Dörbets (*dörwöd*), the Khoshuts (*χošū^D*), and the Züngars (Dzungars, Dsungar, Džungar, Dzhungar, Jungar, etc.). To these four main tribes belonged the following sub-tribes: the Khobdo-Dörbets, the Bayits or Baits, the Uriyaṅkhais, the Minggats, the Khöits or Khöits, and the Tsoros (Choros). The term “Kalmuk” is simply another rather mysterious name for those Torghuts, Khoshuts and Dörbets who lived in the former Kalmuk Republic SSR, and those who still live in Kirghizistan. The term Oirat is very old. Marco Polo handed this name down to us in the form of *Horiad* [Common Mongolian **φoirad* (?)] and Plano Carpini recorded the same name as *Voyrat*. The Chinese called the Oirats “Ölöt,” a term which later on became an artificial hybrid Written Mongolian word *ögelet* ~ *ügelet*. The name Ölöt is not very well known among the Western Mongols, although one finds it in numerous Western (European) sources, which state that this is the name of one of the four Oirat tribes. Benjamin Bergmann³ said in 1804 that the name Ölöt sounded very strange to the Torghuts and Dörbets whom he visited and that only erudite monks knew its meaning. Since there is so much confusion about composition of the Oirats in regard to their tribes, sub-tribes, and tribal names, I should like to present the opinions, concepts, and interpretations of the majority of the leading specialists in this area.

In 1776, P. S. Pallas⁴ presented the following subdivisions of the Western Mongols: (1) Khoshuts (2) Dörbets (3) Züngars (4) Torghuts (5) Khöits. B. Bergmann described the bulk of the Kalmuks (sic!) as consisting of the following four tribes: the Khoshuts, the Dörbets, the Züngars, and the Torghuts. P. C. Popov⁵ subdivided the Western Mongols in 1895 into the Khoshuts of the Borjigit family, the Züngars and Dörbets of the Tsoros family, the Torghuts whose family is unknown, and the Khöits of the Yekhe Mangan family “who were at first a part of

³ Benjamin Bergmann's *Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmüken in den Jahren 1802 und 1803* (Riga, 1804–1805).

⁴ Peter Simon Pallas, *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten über die mongolischen Völkerschaften* (St. Petersburg, 1776–1801, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften).

⁵ P. C. Popov, “Men-gu-yu-mu-tszī (Mengku Yumu Chi)”, *Zapiski o mongol'skikh Kochev'yakh* (St. Petersburg, 1895).

the Zūngars". A. Baranov⁶ said in 1907 that the Western Mongols comprised (1) the Tsoros of which the Dörbets and Zūngars are sub-tribes (2) the Khōits and (3) the Torghuts. The term Ölöt, he adds, "is used only by Russians." According to G. J. Ramstedt⁷ the Western Mongols [who call themselves Oirat (*Ö'ir^öD*) as opposed to the remaining Mongols] have been subdivided since ancient times into four main tribes with several sub-tribes, i.e.: Torghut (*torγūD*), Dörbet (*dörw^öD*), Khoshut (*χošūD*), Khōit (*χō^öD* or *χōⁱD*), Choros (*tsor^os*), Dzungar (*zūn-gar*). Only those Western Mongols who lived in the former Kalmuk S.S. Republic or in Kirghizistan (the so-called Sart-Kalmuk [Sart being an *epitethon ornans* of dubious character since it was used in a derogatory manner for those nomads who became sedentary agriculturalists]), usually call themselves and are called Kalmuk ("χal'īm^vq tanγ^tšⁿ" [sic!]) unless they call themselves Ulān-Zalātan (*ulān-zalātn* = red tassel), a general term for all Mongols regardless of their location and the dialects which they speak. The Term Ölöt "is used only by the Chinese."

Earlier writers, such as Saγang Setsen,⁸ report that the "four Oirat consist of the tribes: Kergud, Baghatud, Khoit, and Öghelet." The Si-yü-t'ung-wen-chi (published by order of the Ch'ien-lung emperor in 1763) states that the tribe of the Djun-ga-erl (Zūngar) comprise the four Wei-la-t'e (Oirat) which consist of the following sub-tribes: the Ch'o-lo-sze (Tsoros), the Du-erl-bo-t'e (Dörbet), the Huo-shi-t'e (Khoshut), and the Hui-t'e (Khōits). According to E. Bretschneider,⁹ 1887, Ming dynasty historians state that three Oirat tribes existed at the beginning of the 15th century, consisting of the Khoshuts, the Torguts, and the Choros. According to the same author, another Ming historian states that the Western Mongols before the conquest of Sinkiang consisted of the Khoshuts, Zūngars, Dörbets, and Khōits [the Khōits formed a part of the Dörbet, but when the Torghuts migrated c. 1638, the Khōits became part of the Dörben Oirat]. The same source declares that after the return of the Torghuts from Russia the Western Mongols consisted of six tribes: (1) Ölöt (2) Khoshut (3) Khōit (4) Tsoros (5) Dörbet and (6) Torghut.

⁶ Baranov, A., "Материалы по Маньчжурии и Монголии" (Sources pertaining to Manchuria and Mongolia) Issue 11, *Slovar' Mongol'skikh terminov* (Kharbin, 1907-11).

⁷ See the introduction to the famous *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch* von I. G. Ramstedt, *Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae III*, Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura (Helsinki, 1935).

⁸ See Isaac Jacob Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses* (St. Petersburg, 1829).

⁹ E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, Vol. II (London, 1887).

Pelliot believed "that the term Zūngar is another collective name for all tribes of the Dörben Oirat, in the West usually called Kalmuks . . . During the 17th century, the term 'Zūngar' was replaced by the term 'Tsoros' when the latter held the hegemony over all the other Western Mongols." He adds "that the name Ölöt [by him poorly written as "Eleuth"] should actually be used only for the Tsoros, but is often erroneously used for the whole of the Western Mongols and confused with them."¹⁰ Pelliot's conception of this problem seems to be the most confused one, surpassed in this respect only by Wu Ch'i-yü, according to whom "the Oirats of the Ming and Ch'ing periods were not an alliance but a genuine race name."¹¹

The Oirats received their own written language in 1648. Prior to this time the literate Western Mongols had used Written Mongolian which differed considerably from their own Western Mongolian language. A famous scholar and monk of the Khoshut tribe, Zāya Paṇḍita, whose Tibetan name was *blo-bzang-'phrin-las*, outlined the orthography for the contemporary Western Mongolian language in 1648. In doing so he has handed down to us the exact pronunciation of Western Mongolian in the middle of the 17th century. To accomplish this, he invented the "*todorχοἰ üsük*" the "clear syllabarium" which was rightly so called, since it differentiated vowels and consonants which cannot be read with certainty in the ordinary Mongolian script unless one already knows the pronunciation of the particular word. Furthermore, he introduced a diacritical mark which designated the long quality of a vowel, the so-called "udān." However, the importance of Zāya Paṇḍita's invention lies elsewhere. Through his accurate orthography a significant developmental stage of Western Mongolian has been preserved in its entirety and not in a fragmentary manner as have the other early phases, which we know only through *hp'ags-pa*, Armenian, Grusinian or Chinese script.

Vladimirtsov stressed on page 26 of his monumental comparative grammar of Written Mongolian and Khalkha¹² "that Zāya Paṇḍita's orthography was etymologically based on the observation of archaic forms and utilization of the epic language of the Oirats."

In regard to the sources which I have used, I should like to make the following observations. The reader's attention is called to the fact that

¹⁰ *Journal Asiatique*, 1914.

¹¹ *The Yen-ching Journal of Social Studies* (III, 1941).

¹² B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *Sravnitel'naya grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennogo yazika i khalkhaskogo narechiya. Vvedenie i fonetika* (Leningrad, 1929).

A. Pozdneyev in his dictionary *Kalmytsko-Russkii Slovar'* (St. Petersburg, 1911), has in hundreds of cases artificially changed half-contracted groups such as *iü* < **igü*, *iu* < **iyu*, *ou* < **ayu* to *ü* or *ū* etc., although Oirat manuscripts show no complete contraction. In this respect H. A. Zwick's *Handbuch der Westmongolischen Sprache* (Manual of the Western Mongolian language), presumably published in Königsfeld or in Vilkingen, Black Forest, in 1852 [the title page does not indicate the date and place of publication] is much better and more reliable because he included scarcely any spoken Oirat but preserved very well the orthography of the Zāya Paṇḍita period, which gives an exact picture of the pronunciation. Bernhard Jülg's five editions of Oirat and Mongolian manuscripts which he presented to the library of the University of Innsbruck, Tyrol, together with handwritten glossaries to all of them were an important source for this article. Bernhard Jülg who was a pupil of St. Kowalewski, Hans Conon von der Gabelentz zu der Poschwitz, Anton Schiefner, and Wilhelm Schott, intended to have all these glossaries printed in a single volume, but unfortunately he died in the same year as Privy Councillor von Auer, then the director of the Imperial Austrian-Hungarian Printing Press (who had the first European Mongolian, Manchu, and Oirat types made in 1859–60) and also in the same year as Aulic Councillor Anton Schuhmacher, the director of the University printing press, who took a personal interest in Mongolian studies and who as early as 1858 added Oirat (Kalmuk) printing types to the oriental collection of the University printing press.

B. Jülg's donation to the university library of Innsbruck (with attached glossaries) consists of five books: (1) *Die Märchen des Siddhi-kûr*. Kalmükisch. X. Erzählung (als Probe einer Gesamt-Ausgabe). Festgruss aus Österreich an die XX. Versammlung Deutscher Schulmänner, Philologen und Orientalisten zu Frankfurt a.M. von Bernhard Jülg. Wien, 1861. Printed by the K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei. (2) *Die Märchen des Siddhi-kûr*. Kalmükischer Text mit Deutscher Übersetzung und einem Kalmükisch-Deutschem Wörterbuch, herausgegeben von Bernhard Jülg. Verlegt bei F. A. Brockhaus, 1866, gedruckt von der K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei in Wien, mit Unterstützung der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. (3) *Kalmükische Märchen*. Die Märchen des Siddhi-kûr oder Erzählungen eines verzauberten Todten. Ein Beitrag zur Sagenkunde auf buddhistischem Gebiet. Aus dem Kalmükischen übersetzt von Bernhard Jülg. Printed and published in Innsbruck 1866. (4) *Mongolische Märchen*. Erzählung aus der Sammlung Ardschi Bordschi. Ein Seitenstück zum Gottesgericht in Tristan und Isolde. Mongolisch

und Deutsch nebst dem Bruchstück aus Tristan and Isolde. Als Probe einer Gesamtausgabe von Ardschi Bordschi und den neun Nachtrags-erzählungen des Siddhi-kûr. Herausgegeben von Bernhard Jülg. Druck und Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitätsbuchhandlung in Innsbruck 1867. (5) *Mongolische Märchensammlung*. Die neun Märchen des Siddhi-kûr nach der ausführlichen Redaktion und die Geschichte des Ardschi-Bordschi Chan. Mongolisch mit deutscher Übersetzung und kritischen Anmerkungen. Innsbruck 1868. Druck und Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitätsbuchhandlung. Mit Unterstützung der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. One of my best sources, however, proved to be the Oirat version of the *Ārya-vajracchedikā-nāma-prajñāpāramitā-mahāyāna-sūtra* which I discovered last year and which I am preparing for publication.

A rich, beautiful, and abundant work of literature of all kinds – songs, riddles, tales, sagas, epic songs, translations from buddhistic Tibetan works, etc., has been written by means of the Written Oirat language (see N. N. Poppe, "Stand der Kalmückenforschung," *WZKM*, LII. Band, Wien, 1955). The turbulent and tumultuous history of the Oirats is reflected in their fine literature. It is all the more inconceivable that the Great-Russian B. Y. Vladimirtsov states "that the intelligentsia of the Oirats has always been very weak" (*op. cit.*, p. 26). Hardly anything has been written about the phonetic structure of the Written Oirat language as compared to that of Written or Common Mongolian. B. Ya. Vladimirtsov in his comparative grammar made some remarks on this subject, while N. Poppe in his *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies* (Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, Volume 110, Helsinki, 1955) discusses only the CoMo. group *aɣu > Written Oirat ou.

My investigation of Written Oirat shall consist of four chapters: (1) the syllabic groups (2) the diphthongs (3) the vowels and (4) the consonants.

The following paper discusses the syllabic groups and their further development in the Written Oirat language. For the readers of N. N. Poppe's above mentioned monumental work, I wish to point out that the Written Oirat correspondencies to his etymological word series will be found in the following article.

CoMo. *aya

The group *aya* developed in three different ways in the Written Oirat language. As in most other Mongolian languages it either became a long

ā (a) or developed to a long *ō* when preceded by an **o* (b), or remained *aya* (c).

(a) Mo. *jaraya* "hedgehog, urchin," Oir. *zarā* id.; Mo. *nayad-* "to play," Oir. *nād* id.; Mo. *ulayan* "red," Oir. *ulān* id.; Mo. *qajayar* < **qajiyar* "bridle," Oir. *xazār* id.; Mo. *qayan* "Khan," Oir. *xān* id.; Mo. *qaya-* "to cover, to lock up, to close in, to hinder, to stop, to make an end," Oir. *xā-* "to lock, to close"; Mo. *naya-* "to glue, to paste together, to stick together," Oir. *nā-* id.

Mo. *dayari-* ~ *dayiri-* < **daβiri-* (because of Turk. Tatar *yabir-* "to touch, to hurt") "to pass, to catch at, to offend," Oir. *dāri-* "to push against something, bound against, to collide or crash, to rub against, to offend."

(b) Mo. *oγayata* "all, whole, entire, wholly, totally, entirely," Oir. *oγōta* id.; Mo. *toγtaya-* "to determine, to dispose of, to issue, to decide, to record, to register," Oir. *toḡtō-* id.; Mo. *toγtayal* "decision, order, decree, prescription, minutes, record, determination, excommunication, anathema," Oir. *toḡtöl* id.

(c) Mo. *sinaya* ~ *sanaya* "ladle," Oir. *šanaya*, Zwick: *šanayān*¹³ id.; Mo. *sanayas* "name of an Oirat sub-tribe," Oir. *sanayas* id.; Mo. *tamaya* "horse brand, seal, the place where the seal is kept," Oir. *tamaya* id.; Mo. *tarbayatai* "n.pr.geo., a place with marmots," Oir. *tarbayatai* id.; Mo. *qayala-* "to plough, to till", Oir. *xayal-* id.

**ege*

The group *ege* resulted in Written Oirat either in the complete contraction *ē* as in most other Mongolian languages (a) or was transformed into *ögö* (b) or remained unchanged (c).

(a) Mo. *jeġeren* "gazelle," Oir. *zēren* id.; Mo. *egem* "shoulder," Oir. *ēm* id.; Mo. *temegen* "camel," Oir. *temēn* id.; Mo. *degēsün* "rope, string," Oir. *dēsün* id.; Mo. *keġeli* ~ *kebeli* "abdomen, pregnancy," Oir. *kēli* id., but also appears as noncontracted *kebeli* (compare Ma. *kefeli*, Ung. *kebel* id.).

(b) Mo. *ötege* "bear," Oir. *ötögö* id.

(c) Mo. *deġel* ~ *debel* < **deβel*, "fur, clothing, coat," Oir. *deġel* id., kalm. *dewļ* id.

**igi*

The group *igi* usually results in Written Oirat in a diphthong *ii* (a)

¹³ Zwick, *Wörterbuch*, p. 388b.

except in those cases in which the West Mongolian authors have artificially preserved the Written Mongolian language and use the regular form *igi*. There is no phonological explanation for this development.

(a) Mo. *čigig* “dampness, moisture, moist, damp, humid, muggy,” Oir. *čiiḡ* id.; Mo. *čigir* “grazed off by cattle, pushed down and flattened out by the hoofs of cattle,” Oir. *čiir* id.; Mo. *čigine-* to become watery or moist, Oir. *čiine-* id.

**uyu*

The group *uyu* uniformly changes to *uu* (a) in Written Oirat. In one case the group *uyu* which goes back to **uβu* is preserved in Written Oirat as *ubu* (b).

(a) Mo. *niruyu* “back, spine, waistline; roof, plank, roof-tree, girder; conical back of mountain,” Oir. *nuruu* id.; Mo. *qaduyur* “sickle, scythe,” Oir. *xaduur* id.; Mo. *uyu-* “to drink, to draw water, to scoop out water,” Oir. *uu-* id.; Mo. *tuγulya* “tin, pewter, lead, any metal which melts at a low temperature,” Oir. *tuulya* id.; Mo. *uyuča* “os sacrum, behind, back part of the body,” Oir. *uuca* id.; Mo. *buγura* “male camel,” Oir. *buura* id.; Mo. *buruyu* “wrong,” Oir. *buruu* id.; Mo. *uyur-* “to hurl, to throw, to forsake,” Oir. *uur-* id.

(b) Mo. **uyujī*, *uyji* “a nipple,” Oir. *ubujī* < CoMo **uβujī* id.

**ügü* < **ügü* and *ümü* < **üβü*

The usual developmental correspondence of the Common Mongolian group *ügü* in Written Oirat is *üü* when *ügü* appears in the first and second syllable (a) and *öü* when it appears in the second and third syllable, the vowel **ü* of the first syllable being transformed into *ö* (b). In a few cases the group *ügü* developed to *öü* although it appears in the first two syllables (c).

(a) Mo. *mügiün*¹⁴ “mushroom,” Oir. *müün* id.; Mo. *bügütür* “hump, a humpbacked individual, buckle,” Oir. *büütür* id.; Mo. *ügürge* “small burden, load, charge, responsibility,” Oir. *üürge* id.

(b) Mo. *büdügün* ~ *bödügün* “thick, coarse,” Oir. *bödöün* id.; Mo. *küfügün* “neck,” Oir. *küzöün* ~ *küzüün* id.

(c) Mo. *tüğükei* “raw, uncooked,” Oir. *töükei* id.

**iya* < **iγa* and **iβa*

The group *iya* usually becomes a long *ā* in Written Oirat (a); but

¹⁴ Chinese loanword which underwent regular sound shift.

several irregular developments can be observed, most of which result from incorrect orthography or the taking over and incorporation of spoken language and its transposal into Written Oirat according to the writer's conception (b).

(a) *niya-* "to glue, to paste, to cement," Oir. *nā-* id.; Mo. *šiyaǰayai* "magpie," Oir. *šāzayai* id.; Mo. *ačīyan* < **ačīyan* "load," Oir. *ačān* id.; Mo. *tabiyat* "after having put, laid, released," Oir. *tabāt* id.; Mo. *quriya-* "to gather, to collect, to go to a meeting," Oir. *xurā-* id.

(b) Mo. *aliya* < **aliya* "frolicsome, playful, supercilious, haughty," Oir. *alī* id.; Mo. *qaniya-* "to cough," Oir. *xanaǰ-* id.

*ige

The group *ige* becomes a long *ē* (a). When **ü* precedes the *ige*-group the latter changes to *igō* or *ō* (b).

(a) Mo. *šige-* "to urinate," Oir. *še-* id.; Mo. *eriyen* "motley, dappled," Oir. *erēn* "pattern, figure"; Mo. *belčiger* "pasture land or place," Oir. *belčēr* id.; Mo. *keriye* "crow," Oir. *kerē* id.; Mo. *üniyen* "cow," Oir. *ünē* id.

(b) Mo. *öglige* "gift, alms," Oir. *ökligō* id.

*iyu

The Mongolian group *iyu* usually becomes *iyou* ~ *iyo* in Written Oirat when it appears in the first and second syllable of a stem (a); however, when it appears in the second and third syllable it develops to *iu* (b). Irregular developments are changes to *uyu*, *uu*, or *üü* (c).

(a) Mo. *niyur* "face," Oir. *niur* ~ *niyour* id.; Mo. *niyo-* "to hide, to conceal," Oir. *niyo-* < **niyou-* id.; Mo. *niyuča* "secret, secretive," Oir. *niyouca* id.

(b) Mo. *ariyun* "clean, clear, light, innocent, holy," Oir. *ariun* id.; Mo. *sakiyul-* "to protect," Oir. *sakiul-* id.; Mo. *tašiyur* "whip, lash," Oir. *tašiur* id.; Mo. *talbiyur* "a type of table, sideboard, dresser," Oir. *talbiur* id.; Mo. *qabčiyur* "claws or pincers of a crawfish," Oir. *xabčīur* id.; Mo. *orčiyul-* "to translate, transpose," Oir. *orčiul-* id.; Mo. *qariyu* "answer, return," Oir. *xariu* id.; Mo. *qaliyun* "otter; dark coat of a horse," Oir. *xaliun* id.

(c) Mo. *tolkiyur* "key, pestle," Oir. *tülküür* id.; Mo. *siyum* "line, mark, measurement," Oir. *suyum* id.; Mo. *čiyul-* "to gather, to amass, to increase, to multiply, to augment," Oir. *čuul-* id.

**igü*

The Mong. group *igü* changes to *üü* if it appears in the first two syllables (a) but to *iü* if it appears in the second and third syllables (b).

(a) Mo. *nigül* "sin," Oir. *nüül* id.; Mo. *šigüderi* "white frost, hoarfrost," Oir. *šüüderi* id.

(b) Mo. *selbigür* "rudder of a boat," Oir. *selbiür* id.; Mo. *ebčigün* "chest, breast," Oir. *öbčiün* (or *öbcün* in manuscripts in which colloquialisms appear) id.; Mo. *terigün* "head, leader, the first," Oir. *teriün* id.; Mo. *serigün* "cool, fresh," Oir. *seriün* id.

**ayu*

The Mongolian group *ayu* becomes *ou* in Oirat regardless of whether it appears in the first two syllables (a) or the following syllables (b). In a few cases the development is irregular or, to be more exact, reflects poor orthography of unerudite writers (c).

(a) Mo. *qayučin* "old," Oir. *xoučin* id.; Mo. *qayuraï* "dry, arid," Oir. *xourai* id.; Mo. *ayur* "anger," Oir. *our* id.; Mo. *bayu-* "to become weak, to decline, to be in a state of decay, to go down," Oir. *bou-* id.; id.; Mo. *dayula-* "to sing," Oir. *doula-* id.; Mo. *ayuski* "lungs," Oir. *ouški* id.; Mo. *mayula* "to mistreat somebody," Oir. *moula-* id.

(b) Mo. *barayun* "right," Oir. *baroun* id.; Mo. *qatayu* "Hard," Oir. *xatou* id.; Mo. *qalayun* "hot," Oir. *xaloun* id.; Mo. *amidurayul-* "to bring back to life," Oir. *amiduroul-* id.; Mo. *amsayul:* "to test, to taste," Oir. *amsoul-* id.; Mo. *sayu-* "to sit," Oir. *sou-* id.; Mo. *jalayu* "young, youth," Oir. *zalou* id.

(c) Mo. *ayuski* < **ayusqi* "lungs," Oir. *oški* ~ *oški* (compare with Kalmuck *ošk*^v).

**aβ*

The group **aβ*, which is represented in Written Mongolian as the diphthong *ay*, appears in Written Oirat in various ways. It is impossible to draw any phonetic conclusions since there are too few examples available.

Mo. *taɣlai* < **taβlai*, Tü. *tabišqan* ~ *taɣšan* id. "rabbit, hare," Oir. *toulai* ~ *toolai* ~ *touli* id.; Mo. *ayyan* "the elder son," Oir. *ayya* ~ *uuyan* id.

**egü*

The group *egü* appears in Written Oirat as *öü* < **eü* < **egü* no matter whether it constitutes the first two (a) or the second two syllables (b). In a few cases certain special developments can be observed (c).

(a) Mo. *egülen* "cloud," Oir. *öülen* id.; Mo. *egüden* "door guard," Oir. *öüden* id.; Mo. *degüü* "younger brother," Oir. *döü* id.; Mo. *degür-* "to come to an end, to become complete, to fulfill," Oir. *döür-* id.; Mo. *egür* "nest, cell," Oir. *öür* id.; Mo. *segül* "tail, end, finish," Oir. *söül* id.; Mo. *negüdel* "the migration from one pasture to another (by nomads)," Oir. *nöüdel* id.; Mo. *negüri* "camp of nomads," Oir. *nöüri* id.; Mo. *negürsün* "coal," Oir. *nöürsün* id.; Mo. *egüden* "door, gate, entrance; container; origin, principle, relationship," Oir. *öüden* id.; Mo. *egüride* "forever, permanent, constant," Oir. *öüride* id.; Mo. *gegüü* "mare," Oir. *göün* id.

(b) Mo. *üjegür* "summit, peak, prong, lookout," Oir. *üzöür* id.; Mo. *nemegüri* "addition, completion, enlargement, act of favoring," Oir. *nemöüri* id.; Mo. *neberteregülül* "praise, advertisement, systematic efforts to propagate certain thoughts, beliefs, or opinions," Oir. *neberteröülül* id.; Mo. *bitegün* "swelling on any part of the human body," Oir. *bitöün* id.; Mo. *kečegü* "difficult, dangerous," Oir. *kecöü* id.; Mo. *köbegün* ~ *kübegün* "son, boy, youth," Oir. *küböün* ~ *köböün* id.

(c) Mo. *tegüs* "entire, whole, full, absolute," Oir. *tögüs* id.; Mo. *eregü* "pain, poor" Oir. *örgön* id.

*eß

The group *eß > Mo. *eü* consistently results in *üü* in Written Oirat.

Mo. *sejike* "stretcher, litter," Oir. *süüke* id.; Mo. *kejireg* "decayed, rotten, pliable, weak, fragile," Oir. *küürük* id. compare with Dörbet *kewrəG* id.; Mo. *gejü* "mare," Oir. *güün* id.; Mo. *dejili-* "to strive towards something, to aim at something, to tend towards something, to struggle for something, to strain towards something," Oir. *düüli-* id.; Mo. *kejü* "son," Oir. *küün* id.; Mo. *tejike* "story," Oir. *tüüke* id.

*oγa

The CoMo. group *oγa develops in Written Oirat to a long *ō* (a), unless the group is followed by an *i in which case the group concerned becomes a long *ō̄* (b). There are also some irregular developments (c).

(a) Mo. *toγosun* < *toγasun < *toβarsun "dust, powder; atom, pollen, soil," Oir. *tōsun* id.; Mo. *toγoray* < *toβaray "dust swirling behind a horse," Oir. *tōraḡ* id.; Mo. *γoγosun* < *γoγalsun "wild onion," Oir. *γōsun* id.; Mo. *doγolang* ~ *doγalang* "limping," Oir. *dōlang* id.; Mo. *qoγor* ~ *qoγar* "between, in the middle," Oir. *xōr* id.; Mo. *doγoγsi* < *doγaγsi "down," Oir. *dōḡši* id.; Mo. *toγa* "number," Oir. *tō* id.; Mo. *toγala-* "to count," Oir. *tōla-* ~ *tōlo-* id.

(b) Mo. *toγori-* < **toγari-* “to turn,” Oir. *tōrō-* “to go astray, to lose one’s way, to err.”

(c) Mo. *toγos* “peacock,” Oir. *toγos* id.

**oy*

This group which appears in Written Mongolian as *ou* was completely contracted in Written Oirat (a).

(a) Mo. *qoγ* “all,” Oir. *xō* id.; Mo. *oči* “the internal part of the mouth,” mouth hole,” Oir. *ōči* id.; Mo. *touraγ* < **toβaraγ* “soil, dust” (tü. *topraq* “dust”), Oir. *tōraḡ* id.

**uγa*

This group which appears in Written Mongolian as *oyo* and *uγa* usually was completely contracted in Written Oirat (a) although some anomalous developments can be found (b) and (c).

(a) Mo. *ǰoγaγ* < **ǰuγaγ* < **ǰuβaγ* “dish, food; joke, gaiety,” Oir. *zōḡ* id. (cp. Kir. *ǰubat-* “to entertain”); Mo. *qoγosun* < **quγasun* “empty, dry,” Oir. *xōsun* id.; Mo. *oyodon* “short-tailed,” Oir. *ōdon* id.; Mo. *qoγolaḡ* “throat,” Oir. *xōlai* ~ *xoulai* id.

(b) Mo. *noγuγan* “green,” Oir. *noγōn* id.; Mo. *iruγal* “bottom of a jar or container, bottom of the ocean,” Oir. *iroul*¹⁵ id.

(c) Mo. *ǰiruγa* “ambler,” Oir. *zorou* ~ *zorō* id.; Mo. *ǰiruγyan* “six,” Oir. *zurγān* ~ *zurγan* id.

**βa*

This group, which is represented in Written Mongolian by the diphthong *ua*, also became in Written Oirat contracted to a long *ō*.

Mo. *činua* < **tinβa* “wolf,” Oir. *činō* ~ *cōno* id.; Mo. *iruα* < **irβa* “omen,” Oir. *irō*.

**uβa*

This group, which is represented in Written Mongolian by *uua* (= *uα*), or *oo*, became contracted in Written Oirat to a long *ō*.

Mo. *čooqur* ~ *čuαaqur* < **čuβaqur* “speckled,” Oir. *cōxor* id.; Mo. *quαa* “yellowish (color of a horse),” Oir. *xō* “grey, brownish” but cf. Oir. *xuura-* “to roast”; Mo. *γuαa* “beautiful, pretty,” Oir. *γō* “beautiful, pretty, cute”, Oir. *γo* “straight.”

¹⁵ Zwick, *Wörterbuch*, p. 59 b.

**öge*

This group which appears in Written Mongolian as *öge* < **öge* and **öβe* developed to *öe* > *öü* and ultimately in long *ō* in Written Oirat. Therefore double forms can be found:

Mo. *kögere-* < **köbere-* < **köβere-* "to swell, to foam, to ferment, to display pride, to give oneself to" (Osm. *köpür-* to foam, Alt., Koib. *köbür-* id.), Oir. *köürge* "bellows," is related to this stem.

Mo. *kögesün* < **köbesün* < **köβesün* "foam" (Osm. *köpük* foam), Oir. *köyisün* id.

Mo. *kögerkei* ~ *kögerekei* "poor, pauper, pitiful," Oir. *köürkei* id.

Mo. *ögeg* "pillow, saddle blanket" (Chag. *ök* "pillar, supporting column"), Oir. *öük* id.

Mo. *sögel* ~ *söbel* < **söβel* "wart" (Eastern Türkish: *söbäl* ~ *sögäl* id.), Oir. *söül* id.

Mo. *tögele* < **töbele* < **töβele* "blaze" (Kir. *töböl*), Oir. *töülö* id.

Mo. *bögere* < **böβere* "kidney" (Tü. *köbräk* id.), Oir. *börö* or *böürö* id.; Mo. *ögede* "upward," Oir. *ödö* id.

**üge*

The group **üge* which appears in Written Mongolian as *öge* (when constituting the first two syllables) and *üge* (when constituting the second, third or fourth syllable) develops in Written Oirat to *öü* in both cases, although numerous exceptions can be observed without making it possible to draw phonetic conclusions or to establish firm sound shift laws.

(a) Mo. *tügene* "the searing of an infected wound, cauterization" (Tü. Chag. *tügän* "scar from burning, brand"), Oir. *töüne* id.; Mo. *tüge* "span, the space between the thumb and the little finger when stretched out all the way," Oir. *töün* id.; *tügele-* "to span, to stretch, to measure with the span," Oir. *töüle-* id.; Mo. *böge* < **büge* "shaman" (Tü. *bügü* "wise"), Oir. *böü* (older orthography), *bō* (newer orthography); Mo. *jöge* < **jüge-* (Tü. *yük* "load") "to transport," Oir. *zöü-* (older orthography) ~ *zō* (newer orthography) id.; Mo. *bügele-* "shamanize" Oir. *böüle-* id.

(b) Mo. *örüge* "room partition; hobbles for horses which are attached

in such a way that only both left or both right legs are shackled"; related to Mo. *örügeli* ~ *örügeri* "half, the half part of something," cf. Tü Chag. *örüük* "leg shackles for horses," Oir. *öröüle* (older orthography) ~ *orölö* and *orölen* (newer orthography) id.; Mo. *irügel* "benediction," Oir. *iröül* id.

(c) Mo. *edüge* "now, presently," Oir. *edüge* ~ *ödö* ~ *ödüge* id.; Mo. *čilüge* "free space, free time, leisure, freedom," Oir. *čilōn*¹⁶ "occasion"; Mo. *ügekün* "bacon, fat," Oir. *ōkūn* id.

¹⁶ Zwick, p. 368 a.

THĀKURA

by

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Farrukhabad (U.P.)

The word *thākura* and its variants are used in almost all the languages of Northern India. In Nepali the word *Thākur* (feminine *thākurāni*) means a master and is the title with which a master is addressed by a slave; in Shina *thākūr* stands for a barber; in Assamese *thākur* signifies a brāhmaṇa and in Bengali and Oriya it denotes the same as well as a deity; in Hindi it is used for a landlord and is employed by the Rajputs as their surname and is also a synonym of God; in Punjabi *thākar* connotes a landlord; in Sindhi *thākuru* is used to designate a beggar (faqir); in Kashmiri *thōkur* has the sense of an idol; in Gujrati *thākor* or *thākar* is a tribe of Rajputs and in Marathi *thākur* is the name of a jungle tribe of North Konkan. All these words are derived from the Sanskrit word *thakkura* and the Prakṛt words *thakkura*, *thākura* or *thakura*.¹ In Prakṛt the aforesaid words mean a Kṣatriya or Rajput and the owner, head, chief or leader of a village etc.² In Sanskrit the word *thakkura* means a deity, an object of reverence, a man of rank and a chief according to Monier Williams,³ an idol, a deity and a title of the brāhmaṇas (dvijas) according to the *Vācaspatya*⁴ and "Gottheit, ein Gegenstand der Verehrung, als Ehrentitel nach dem Namen ausgezeichneter Persönlichkeiten" according to Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth.⁵ In Pali we do not come across this word. But G. P. Malalasekera notes a word *thakuraka* in his *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*,⁶ which is used in the *Cūlavamsa*⁷ as the name of the chief

¹ Ralph Lilly Turner, *Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language*, p. 251.

² Pandita Hargovind Das Seth, *Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo*, p. 460; Vijaya Rajendra Suriśvara, *Abhidhāna-Rājendra*, Vol. IV, p. 1379.

³ Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English dictionary*, p. 430.

⁴ *Vācaspatya*, Part IV, p. 3189.

⁵ Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth, *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, p. 182.

⁶ G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. I, p. 979, 288.

⁷ *Cūlavamsa*, Xc 16, 24, 27.

of the *Ariyakkhattayodhā* who were the mercenary soldiers employed by Bhuvanekabahu I for assassinating his adversary Mitta and regaining possession of the throne of Sinhala. Wilhelm Geiger thinks that these mercenaries must have come from South India, but Malalasekera holds that they were Rajputs as the name of their general *ṭhakuraka* indicates. In order to determine the original import of this word it is necessary to study its early uses.

The word *ṭhakura* occurs in the *Samarāiccakahā* of Haribhadra Sūri, who flourished in 585 (Vikrama era) or 529 A.D. according to Jaina tradition but whose date has been worked out as 788–820 A.D. by Hermann Jacobi.⁸ In this work the word *ṭhakura* is used in plural⁹ and refers to the people who fought with the Sabaras. The fact that the *ṭhakuras* are contrasted with the Sabaras shows that they were a tribe like the latter. No peculiar prestige or honour attaches to this word here. It is the name of a people like other ordinary tribal designations.

After Haribhadra Sūri, the historian Kalhaṇa, who completed his chronicle *Rājataranginī* in 1150 A.D., mentioned the *ṭhakkuras* in his account of the events of the reigns of Kalaśa and Harṣa (1089 A.D.–1101 A.D.) in Kaśmīra. The account begins with the death of the king of Rājapura (Rajauri) and the coronation of his son Sangrāmapāla. The latter's uncle Madanapāla rose in revolt and as a result of his fear the sister of Sangrāma and the *ṭhakkura* Jassarāja implored the assistance of Kalaśa.¹⁰ But the people of Rajauri suspected Kalaśa and his armies came back. The *ṭhakkuras* were the supporters of Kalaśa's successor Harṣa. He sent them from the jail to keep the royal armies neutral at the time of his release. There is also a reference to the *ṭhakkuras* of the Lohar fort¹¹ situated in the Lohrin Valley which was attacked by Maḥmūd Ġaznavī according to Ferishta and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. These references show that *ṭhakkura* was a designation of warriors.

About the same time Lakṣmaṇagaṇin, a pupil of Hemachandra, used the word *ṭhakkura* in his *Supāsanāha-caria*, that was completed in 1143 A.D.¹² In it there is a story of a merchant named Navadhana residing

⁸ *Samrāicca-Kahā* of Haribhadra Suri, ed. H. Jacobi, introduction p. 3.

⁹ *Samrāiccakahā* (*Op. Cit.*), p. 548: Āvaḍiyam pahānajuḷḷham, pāḍiyā Kulauttayā, bhaggā dhāḍī, vāṇarehi viya vukkāriyam sabarehiṇ. tao amariseṇa niyattā ṭhakurā, theva sabarā tti veḍhiyā ās-asāhaṇeṇam. Sampalaggam juḷḷham. Mahayā vimaddena nijjiyā sabarā. Pāḍiyā Kumārapallivai, gahiyā ca ṇehiṇ. Kumāracariṇa vimhiyā ṭhakurā ko uṇa eso tti cintiyamaṇehi.

¹⁰ *Rājataranginī*, VII, 533–337.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, VII, 706–739.

¹² *Supāsanāhacaria* of Lakṣmaṇagaṇin, ed. Hargovind Dass T. Seth (introduction p. 9).

at Udayapura. Once a *ṭhakkura* purchased utensils worth ten thousand drammas from his shop and then clothes of the value of twenty thousand dammas on credit. Navadhana demanded the price and at last went to the public officers for help but everybody demanded a bribe. In this story this *ṭhakkura* is represented as a rich man.¹³

Thereafter the word *ṭhākura* is used in the thirteenth century of the Vikrama era by Nemichandra Bhaṇḍāri in his *Saṭṭhisayapayaṇa*.¹⁴ Here *ṭhākura* is a man of position and authority who commands and demands submission.

Then in the fourteenth century A. D. Jyotirīśvara Kavi Śekharācārya (about 1324 A.D.), the friend of King Harisimha, notes the word *ṭhakkura* in his *prahasana* entitled *Dhūrtasamāgama*. The reference here is to the hermitage of one *mṛitāṅgāra ṭhakkura*.¹⁵

Between 1400 A.D. and 1550 A.D. the author of the *Kāvya-pradīpa*, a commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, named Govinda *ṭhakkura*, bears this surname *ṭhakkura*.

In the *Anantasamhitā* quoted in the *Smṛtyarthasāgara* of Chhālārī Nṛsiṃhācārya (later than 1675 A.D.) the word *ṭhakkura* is taken to mean a deity.¹⁶

In the *Padmāvatī* of Malik Muḥammad Jāyasi (1540 A.D.) the word *ṭhākura* is used to denote the Rājputs and *ṭhakurāyī* is used for the generality of the Rājputs.¹⁷

A study of the above references to the word *ṭhākura-ṭhakkura* in a more or less chronological order shows (1) that this word was first used in Prākṛt and thence became current in Sanskṛt; (2) that at first it signified

¹³ *Supāsānāhacaria, Op. Cit.*, p. 412:

Taha Suvisuddhanaṇṇam navadhaṇṇavaṇṇo Karei Vāṇijjam. I
Niyahaṭṭhe uvaviṭṭho viṣiṭṭhapaṇiehin niyaehin. II
Aha Kovi ṭhakkuro Kiṇai tassa haṭṭammi dasasahassāṇam. I
bhaṇḍam dāum damme lei puṇo taha puṇo dei. II
Aha annayā ya teṇam uddhāre bisasahassa-dammāṇam. I
Gahiya Kappaḍamāi Maggaī to navadhaṇṇo mullam II

¹⁴ *Saṭṭhisayapayaṇa* of Nemichandra Bhaṇḍāri gathā, No. 98:

Iyaṛāṇam ṭhakurāṇam āṇābhangeṇa hoi maraṇaduham I
Kim puṇa tiloyapahuṇo jīṇindadevāhi-devassa II

¹⁵ *Dhūrtasamāgam* of Jyotirīśvara 75, 9; *Mṛitāṅgāraṭhakkurasyāśramoyam*.

¹⁶ *Anantasamhitā* cited in the *Vācaspatya, Op. Cit.*, Part 4, p. 3189. Sudāmā nāma gopālaḥ śrīmān sundara ṭhakkuraḥ.

¹⁷ *Padmāvatī* 42, 503, 3-4, ed. V. S. Agrawal, p. 532:

Khatri o pañcabāna baghele.
Agarwāla chauhāna cande.
Gaharvāra parihāra so Kuri.
Milana haṇṣa ṭhakurāi juri.

a tribe like the Śabarās but later it became an honorific and was employed as such by men of prestige and position; (3) that the title *ṭhakkura* was given to the Kṣatriyas or warriors but later on it came to be used by the brāhmaṇas also and lastly it became a synonym of God; (4) that this word was not current in the literature of the early period but came into vogue after the eighth century; (5) and that this word was borrowed from some exotic source.

It was suggested by Sylvain Lévi that the word *ṭhākura* is derived from the Turkish word *tégin*, *tékyn* or *tengin*. S. K. Chatterji accepted this equation observing that “phonetically as well as semantically *tégin* could be easily connected with *ṭhākura*. In a large number of languages, final ‘r’, ‘l’ and ‘n’ are interchangeable; the vowel in the second syllable in this word in the original old Turkish was not a proper ‘i’ but a kind of spread-lip ‘u’ which could easily become a ‘u’ in Indian adaptation. The interior consonant is either a ‘k’ or a ‘g’, and the vowel in the first syllable ‘e’ or ‘a’ can easily be rendered by short or long ‘a’ in India, while the alveolar ‘t’ of the original Turkish word could normally become cerebralised and aspirated.”¹⁸ In fact, a Western Turk King is known to have adopted the title of Śāhi-tegin between 630 A.D. and 658 A.D. The coins of this king bearing legends in Brāhmi and Pehlvi have been published and studied by R. Ghirshman.¹⁹ It is believed that this ruler received Hiuan-T’sang at his capital on the Kunduz in 644 A.D.²⁰ But there is nothing to show that this ruler had anything to do with India, nor is there any evidence to prove that the kings bearing the title of *tegin* played any significant part in Indian history so as to lend their honorific permanently to Indian languages. Unless and until it is established that the Kings or people using the word *tegin* had intimate and important connections with India, it is difficult to hold how a word of theirs became so wide-spread and came to acquire such sanctity and prestige in India. Linguistic exchange presupposes a cultural intercourse and in the absence of evidence showing cultural or social affinity the mere resemblance of phonetic elements cannot warrant the inference of a loan of words. Besides this, *tegin* is a kingly title in Turkish rather than a tribal name, whereas in India *ṭhākura* is first used as the name of a people or the designation of a tribe. There is no suggestion of kingly status or honorary position in the early uses of this word, as seen above. Hence it is far-fetched to connect it with the Turkish

¹⁸ Sunitikumar Chatterji’s letter to me, dated 12th April, 1955.

¹⁹ R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, pp. 48–49.

²⁰ E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-K’iue Occidentaux*, p. 197.

title *tegin*. In the words of H. W. Bailey: "Turkish *Tegin* is not likely to be concerned here".²¹

In order to determine the etymology of the word *ṭhākura* it is necessary to consider a group of words relating to the Tokharians. A study of these words has assumed a new significance since the discovery of the word *ṭtaugara* in the manuscript known as the Staël-Holstein Scroll.²² This manuscript contains a list of names of places and peoples and the relevant passage has been translated by W. B. Henning as follows: "The royal clan *Yaghlaqar*, the five tribes *Buqu*, *Busqut*, *Küräbör*, *Qorbar*: these are *Tölis*. The royal clan *Sikär* (the fief tribes) *ṭtaugara*, *Eyäbör*, *Čarigh*, *Yäbütkär* and other *Ghilpabut* in the Black mountains: these are called *Tarduš*. In *Sulmī* the *Turk Bayırqu* and the *Čumul* . . ."²³

H. W. Bailey identifies *ṭtaugara* with an important city in Kansu on the silk-route named *θογάρα* mentioned in the itinerary of a silk merchant *Maēs Titianos*. Bailey finds in it the name of the Tokharians "toghara – tokhara" and after a brilliant discussion records his conclusion as follows: "It has been argued that toghara-tokhara is the indigenous name of the people of the *θροανα – δρω*"n region who are later known in the Bactrian region under the same name *tokhara*. Their history thus coincides with that attributed by Chinese historians to the *Ta Yue-Che*."²⁴

Henning disagrees with this conclusion and holds that the occurrence of *ṭtaugara* in a list of purely Turkish tribes shows that it designated a Turkish tribe of the *Tarduš* group, and that a reference to the Tokharians or *Yue-che* is out of the question. According to him, this word becomes *ṭtaum̐gara* with a nasal (*anusvāra*) and stands for a *Tölis* tribe named *tongra* which is mentioned in the *Orkhon* inscriptions and whom the Chinese have called *t'ung-lo*.²⁵ Expressing his agreement with this view Pelliot has observed: "nous avons accepté un instant que le nom khotanais '*ṭtaugara*' représentait celui des tokhâres sur la foi de H. W. Bailey et malgré des objections de temps et de lieu. Mais le khotanais est plein de pièges. On a reconnu depuis lors que '*ṭtaugara*' est une médiocre transcription khotanaise du nom de la tribu turque des *Tongra* (les *T'ong-le* des *Documents sur les T'ou-kiue* de Chavannes) bien connus

²¹ H. W. Bailey's letter to me, dated 4th March, 1955.

²² F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow, *Two Medieval documents from Tun-huang*, Oslo *Ethnografiska Museums Skrifter* (Oslo, 1929), pp. 128.

²³ W. B. Henning, "Argi and the Tokharians," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. IX, Part 3 (London, 1938), pp. 546-571.

²⁴ H. W. Bailey, "Taugara," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. VIII (1937), p. 916.

²⁵ W. B. Henning, "Argi and the Tokharians," *loc. cit.*

à l'époque des T'ang."²⁶ But the mere presence of *ttaugara* in a list of Turkish tribes does not necessarily mean that it had nothing to do with the Yue-che. It is a common phenomenon that the name of a locality or territory survives changes in population. It is quite conceivable that remnants of the Little Yue-Che had joined the Turkish confederacy and lent their pristine name to their tribal designations. Gustav Haloun has shown that a Chinese envoy to Khotan thought it possible to recognize them as late as 938-942 A.D.²⁷

The occurrence of the word *ttaugara* -θογάρα as a place-name in the homeland of the Yue-che lends colour to the view that their indigenous name was akin to this word. Bailey has attempted to show that the Chinese word *Ta Yue-che* is a transliteration of this word θογάρα. According to him *che* signifies a clan and in the opinion of Henning it is an indigenous plural ending, whereas *Ta Yue* is a representation of the original word which Henning determines as *t'ghur*, *θ'ghur*, *t'ghuer*, *θghuer* etc. These suggestions are open to serious objections as shown by Pelliot. Similarly the conjectures that *Yue-che* is a transcription of *Ārśi*, *Suguda*, *Tangut* or *Skuja* made by Müller, Laufer, and Boodberg have no strong leg to stand upon.²⁸ It is likely that this word, pronounced as *gut-tia* according to Karlgren and meaning "the moon people"²⁹ was not only a transcription, but also a translation of some word signifying the "moon" in the language of those people. In this connection it is significant to note that in the Chinese translation of the *Sutrālaṅkāra* Kaniṣka is given the title *Chan-t'an* (*tśiän-dân*) which was also borne by the rulers of Gandhāra and Hu-mi as late as the eighth century and another title used by him was *Chen-t'o* (*tśiēn-dā*) which also denotes 'Candra' or 'the moon',³⁰ that the King Chou-chen t'an (Candana of India) is brought into relation with the king of Fu-nan both of whom presented tame elephants to the Eastern T'sin King Mu-ti in their annals,³¹ and that according to the *Mahābhārata* Ṛṣika is mentioned with Candra (moon) and Diti.³²

²⁶ Portion of a letter cited by A. Foucher, *La Vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 238; see also P. Pelliot, "À propos du 'Tokharien'," *Toung Pao*, Vol. XXXII (1936), p. 258.

²⁷ G. Haloun, "Zur Üe-tsi Frage," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XC (1937), p. 285.

²⁸ Berthold Laufer, *The language of the Yue-che or Indo-Scythians*, p. 12; Peter A. Boodberg, "Two Notes on the history of the Chinese frontier," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1936), p. 291.

²⁹ Jarl Charpentier, "Die ethnographische Stellung der Tocharer," *ZDMG* (1917), pp. 347-388.

³⁰ Sylvain Lévi, "Kaniska et Sātavāhana," *Journal Asiatique* (1936), pp. 61-121.

³¹ Sylvain Lévi, "Deux peuples méconnus," *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi*, p. 239.

³² *Mahābhārata* (Ādiparvan), I, 61, 30.

The Prākṛt forms *asi* and *isi* demonstrate the equation of *arśi-asii* which Sten Konow traces to the Saka word *arzi*. Analogous to it are the saka words *aljsa* meaning 'silvery' and *āljsata* meaning 'silver' which are akin to the Avestan word *erezata* (silvery), the Sanskr̥t word *rajata* (silver), and the Persian word *arziz* (tin).³³ All these words have the original sense of whiteness and brightness, the characteristics of the moon. From the same word *arzi* has come the form *erzuna* meaning a 'leader' or 'chief'.³⁴ This latter word has unmistakable resemblance with the Sanskr̥t word *arjuna*, which besides being the name of a tribe in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya³⁵ and the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta³⁶ signifies 'white', 'clear', 'bright', 'silvery'. It is highly significant that Arjuna, the hero of the *Mahābhārata* war, was so called because he was 'white' and 'pure in action'.³⁷ This Arjuna is known to have hailed from the Candra-vamśa or moon-family. This name also occurs repeatedly in the royal genealogies of the Central Asiatic oasis states of Kūca and Qarashahr.³⁸ All these facts tend to show that the lunar clan of Arjuna is reminiscent of the old Yue-che people of Central Asia.³⁹ That

³³ Sten Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 115.

³⁴ Sten Konow, *Kharoshthi Inscriptions* (introduction), p. 61.

³⁵ *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya III, 72 (ed. R. Shamshastri), p. 194: Prājñūṇaka – gāndhārādīnā ca janapadopavādā vyākhyātāḥ.

³⁶ J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III (*Gupta Inscriptions*), No. I. Mālava – ārjunāyana-Yaudheya-Madrakābhīra-Prārjuna – Sanakānīka- kāka- khara-parikādibhi-śca.

³⁷ Pṛthivyām caturantāyām varṇo me durlabhaḥ samah I
karomi karma śuddham ca tena mām-arjunam viduḥ II
Cited by V. S. Apte, *The Practical Sanskr̥t-English dictionary*, p. 149.

³⁸ H. Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan* (1930), p. 28; Sylvain Lévi, "Le Tokharien," *Journal Asiatique* (1933), reprinted in *Fragments de Textes Koutchéens*, pp. 22–24. The first king of Yen Ki (*Agnideśa*), modern *Qarashahr*, known to history was *Shoen* (75 A.D.), whose name is a Chinese transcription of *Arjuna*. A later king of *Qarashahr* was called *Li Po-shoen*, whose name is conserved in the *Tseu-cha-tong-kien* in the form *Sien-na-choen* which stands for *Senārjuna*. Another king of this region was *Indrārjuna*. Kūca had a line of kings with whose names the title *Po* (white), that stands for *arjuna*, was invariably associated. In a narrative of the Chinese writer Yen-yang-tsa-tsu the hero is named *A-chu-eul* (*Arjuna*), and in a manuscript of Tokharian B dialect preserved in the Leningrad museum a king *Kṣemārcune* (*Kṣemārjuna*) is referred to. In the Uighur redaction of the *Hiḍimbāvadhā* the name of *Arjuna* figures as *Arcuni*.

³⁹ As regards the question of śaka influence on the *Mahābhārata*, it is pertinent to quote the intuitive suggestion of Arnold J. Toynbee that "it is tempting to conjecture that the otherwise extraordinary phenomenon of a revival, in the Indic world in this age, of an interest in a 'heroic' tradition descending from the Aryan invaders of the Indus Valley in the second millennium B.C., may partly be accounted for by the arrival in force, in the course of the last two centuries B.C. and the first two centuries of the Christian Era, of a śaka swarm of barbarian invaders who had lately acquired the same literary tastes, as a result of the same social experience, as their Aryan predecessors who had trodden

the Yue-che were in occupation of the northern states of the Tarim basin long before the foundation of the Kuṣāṇa Empire is manifest from the names of the places Kutsi, Ku-shih and Kao-chang (K. *chan*), which were known to the Chinese already in the early Han period.⁴⁰ But in the second century B. C. the pressure of the Hiungnu resulted in the dispersal of the Yue-che from their homeland in Kansu and Ning-sia, and while a part of them fled to the eastern Altyn Tagh and the Richthofen mountains in the vicinity of the Kiang and came to be known as Little Yue-che, their greater part migrated to the west, defeated a number of Saka tribes in the northern Tien-shan on the Upper Ili, Chu, and Naryn, and settled there for about three decades when the Wu-Sun pounced on them and drove them further west towards Sogdiana and Bactria,⁴¹ where Chang K'ien found them in 129–8 B.C.⁴² These Yue-che came to be known as Ta Yue-che. They gave their name to the territory they occupied. Hence from the 4th to the 8th centuries A.D. the region between Sogdiana at the Iron Gates and Bamiyan was called Togharistan or Tokharistan.

The Yue-che who invaded Sogdiana and Bactria were a composite people consisting of many cognate tribes. We learn from the *Hou Han-shu* and *Ts'ien Han-shu* that Ta-hia (Bactria) where the Yue-che settled was divided into the realms of five *hi-heu*, and that the *hi-heu* of kuei-shuang K'ien-tsieu-K'io (K'ien-tsieu-kie) or Kuzula Kadphises seized the territories of other *hi-heu* and became dominant over the Ta Yue-che. There is a difference of opinion as to whether these *hi-heu* including the

the road from Eurasia to India more than a thousand years earlier." "When the śakas felt a need for 'heroic' poetry," Toynbee goes on to add, "they addressed themselves to their Indic subjects; and it is evident that, when this demand is made upon a subject population, its poets will be prone, like the householder in the parable, to bring forth out of their 'treasure things old and new'." (Arnold J. Toynbee, "The Völkerwanderung of the Aryas and the Sanskrit Epic," in *A Study of History*, Vol. V, pp. 604–605). According to Toynbee, the advent of the śakas in Iran left a lasting imprint on the Persian epic in the form of the legends of Rustam and Zal. "The Rustam cycle – which is so distinct, both in its local colour and in its fabulous atmosphere, from the rest of the matter of the Iranian epic – may be a literary reflexion of the social experience of the Śakas in their Völkerwanderung in the second century B.C." (*ibid*, p. 602). In support of Toynbee's thesis it may be added that the antagonists of Rustam call him 'sagzi' in the *Shāhnāmā*. Moreover, Rustam is known to have killed the great champion and propagator of the new religion of Zarathushtra, Isfandayar. It is significant that his name is not found in the Avesta. In the light of these facts and the śaka affinity of the name of Arjuna, a new approach has to be made to the history of the śakas in Iran and India and the contributions they made to the culture and literature of these regions.

⁴⁰ Otto Maenchen-Helfen, "The Yueh-chih Problem re-examined," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 65 (1945), p. 77.

⁴¹ E. Chavannes, *Mémoires de Sse-ma-Ts'ien*, I, pp. 71–72.

⁴² Friedrich Hirth, "The story of Chang K'ien, China's Pioneer in Western Asia," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 37 (1917), p. 96.

Kuei-shuang were the indigenous people of Ta-hia different from the Yue-che or the Yue-che themselves.⁴³ But it is commonly accepted that the Kusans were intimately connected with that vast complex of nomadic tribes who are now called Sarmatians.⁴⁴

⁴³ Following the Japanese scholars Kuwabara Jitzuzo and Haneda Toru, Sten Konow and Paul Pelliot hold that the five *hi-heu* represented the indigenous population of Ta-hia rather than the Ta Yue-che (Sten Konow, "Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology," *Journal of Indian History* [1933], p. 1; Paul Pelliot, "Tokharien et Koutchéen," *Journal Asiatique* [1943], p. 38). Gustav Haloun and Aurel Stein have left the question open (G. Haloun, "Zur Üe-tsi Frage," *ZDMG* [1937], p. 257, fn. 7; Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, p. 287). W. W. Tarn (*The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 287, fn. 4) and Otto Maenchen-Helfen ("The Yueh-chih Problem Re-examined," *JAOS* [1945], pp. 72-73) have adhered to the old theory that the *hi-heu*, particularly the Kuei-shuang (Kusan), were the Yue-che themselves. Maenchen-Helfen goes to the extent of holding that Yueh-chih is a transcription of the word *Kuša* (*ibid.*, pp. 77, 80).

It is noteworthy that even Pelliot, who distinguished the Kuei-shuang from the Yue-che, holds that the *tokhri* of the Uighur Colophons is the Tokharian which Hiuan T'sang found in Tokharistan and Kūšān of the same colophons is the language of Kučā and that both these languages belong to one family. "Si j'ai raison," he observes, "les Tokhariens et Kušāna appartiennent à une grande unité linguistique qui aurait essaimé à date fort ancienne, par vagues successives, peut-être, non seulement au Tokharistan, mais à Kučā, à Qarašahr et même dans la région de Turfan" ("Tokharien et koutchéen," *Journal Asiatique* [1934], p. 105).

That the Kušānas in India considered themselves related to the Śakas is manifest from the fact that in the ancestral gallery (*devakula*) of the Kušāna kings found at Mat near Mathurā the statues of Wima Kadphises and Kaniška have been found along with that of Caṣṭana, the son of Ysamotika, one of the Western Satraps of Saurāṣṭra and Malwa (J. Ph. Vogel, *Explorations at Mathura, Archaeological Survey of India* [1911-12], p. 126). This shows that Caṣṭana, a Śaka by birth, was treated as a member of their own clan by the Kušāna emperors. It is also significant that in the same gallery a head wears a high Scythian cap with the tip tilted forward, which reminds us of Śaka *tigrakhauda* (J. Ph. Vogel, "La Sculpture de Mathurā," *Ars Asiatica* (1930), p. I, IV a-b).

⁴⁴ The costumes and armaments of the Indian Śakas and Kušānas resembled those found in the graves of the Sarmatians. These Sarmatians used the long sword in place of the short *akinakes* and gave up the use of the *gorytos*; among them bow and arrow no longer played the important role of former times and the lance as well as the heavy scale armour or ring armour began to be prominently employed. On the coins of Azes the king is clad in a long central Asian coat having a curious chequered pattern and with sleeves consisting of rings or coils, which signify a ring armour. On the statue of Wima Kadphises the long and strong lance is displayed and on that of Kaniška the long sword is strapped to the coat. On his coins Kaniška is often shown with a long lance. The armour which is not shown on the coins of Wima and Kaniška become prominent under Vāsudeva and his successors. Small gold plaques characteristic of the Sarmatian dress are also sewn on the garments of the seated Kušāna king whose statue has been found at Mat. The dress and deportment of the Śaka-Kušānas strongly point to their nomadic origin and militate against their identification with a sedentary people of a region like Ta-hia (for a discussion of this problem see Ludwig Bachhofer, "On Greeks and Sakas in India," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 61 [1941], pp. 247-249). For the Sarmatian or Alai affinity of the Kušāns see also R. Ghirshman, "Bégram," *Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, p. X.

Greek sources also refer to the political changes that overtook the Yue-che in Bactria. Strabo (XI, 5111) states that between 140 and 130 B.C. the Asioi, Pasianoï, Tokharoi and Sakarauai seized the province of Bactria from the Greeks and Trogus Pompeius narrows the list to the Asiani and Sacaraucae only. As Haloun has proposed to correct *asiani* as *Cusani*⁴⁵ and according to Trogus they were the lords of the Tochari (*reges Tocharorum Asiani*), it is plausible to correlate this development to the predominance of the Kuei-shuang over the Yue-che hordes referred to in Chinese sources noted above. In course of time the Asii (*arsi*) and the Twghr (r) came to signify one and the same people. The *čahār toghrista* (n) or the 'four twghry' and the *Toquz Ārsin* or the 'nine Ārsi' were the two names of the same country, nation, and language. About the beginning of the ninth century the Uighurs were fighting with the Tibetans and the four Twghry, and about a century before that date the Northern Tu-K'ue were waging war against the Toquz Ārsin (*rsn*), the next door neighbours of the Tibetans. Henning believes that *tughr*, *T'ghur* or *twghry* stands for the Yue-che and *ārsin-ārsi* signifies the U Sun (Wu-Suen). These two elements had been indiscriminately mixed up about the T'ang period.⁴⁶

The *Ārsi-tokhara* tribes migrated further west and left their imprints on a large number of peoples. The Siraci and the Aorsi living on the shores of the Black Sea had been in relation with the Greeks since the middle of the first century B.C.⁴⁷ Later, when the Alans occupied the region inhabited by the Aorsi, the latter mixed up with them and the tribal name *Alanorsi* recalls their merger. From the coasts of the Caspian Sea another branch of the Aorsi expanded towards the Don, and in the Kurgans of the Kuban region their culture is well represented in archaeological remains.⁴⁸ With the Aorsi a tribe called *Tagorae* also went to the west as we learn from Pliny. In fact the Aorsi-Ārsi and Tagorae were in the same wave of migration and Maenchen-Helfen⁴⁹ is right in identifying them with the Asii – *Asiani reges Tocharorum*. After the conquest of the Mongols some of these tribes entered into their groupings and came back to the Far East. The Asud and the Tokhuraui, the branches of the Dzhalaïr, were those Tokharians who mixed up with the Mongols. Likewise the four tribes of the Ossets: (1) Digor on the Uruk and its

⁴⁵ Haloun, "Zur Üe-tsi Frage," *ZDMG*. (*op. cit.*), p. 253, note 4.

⁴⁶ W. B. Henning, "Argi and the Tokharians," *BSOAS* (*op. cit.*), pp. 546–571.

⁴⁷ J. Junge, *Saka Studien*, pp. 54, 75.

⁴⁸ M. Rostowzew, *Skythien und der Bosporus*, p. 604.

⁴⁹ O. Maenchen-Helfen, "The Yueh-chih Problem Re-examined," *JAOS*, Vol. 65 (1945), p. 79.

tributaries, (2) Allagir on the Ardon, (3) Kurtat on the Sandon and Fiagdon, and (4) Tagate on the Giseldon and its tributaries contain Tokharian elements. Their western-most branch, the Digor, speak a dialect of their own and call their country *Digor* (*digur* or *diguron*), which name occurs in the *Geography* of Moses of Khorene as *Ashtigor* or *As-Digor* or *Arsi-Tagare*. These Digor-Digur were the descendants of the Tochari-Tagorai.⁵⁰

This brief survey of the expansion and migration of the Yue-che-Tokharians from Kansu up to the Danube and from the Aral Sea up to the plateau of the Deccan in India shows that "wherever they came to live they left their traces in the shape of names indubitably derived from a word 'toghara'."⁵¹ In India the Yue-che played a dominant part up to the fourth century A.D., and their power reached its zenith under Kaniṣka. Sylvain Lévi has shown that Kaniṣka was in control of the port of Barygaza and Kalyana. He identifies him with Sandanes mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* on the ground that this title corresponds to the name Chan-t'an or Candana which is used for the famous Kuṣāṇa monarch in the Chinese translation of the *Sutrāṅkara*. After the establishment of the supremacy of the Kuṣāṇas over the port of Kalyāṇa the Greek ships bound for that port began to be conveyed under guard to Barygaza.⁵² The prominence of the Kuṣāṇas in the Deccan is suggested by the references to the ṛṣikas along with the Māhiṣakas in the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁵³ and the *Kāśikā*.⁵⁴ Though the reading of the coin-legends on some coins ascribed to one 'Mana', in view of which a theory of Śaka domination in the south has been set up,⁵⁵ is doubtful, it is highly significant that even such a late author as Bilhaṇa (1062–1065 A.D.) refers to the presence of

⁵⁰ W. Miller, *Die Sprache der Osseten (Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie)*; V. Minorsky, *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 445.

⁵¹ Ludwig Bachhofer, "On Greeks and Sakas in India," *JAOS*, Vol. 61 (1941), p. 245.

⁵² Sylvain Lévi, "Kaniṣka et Satavahana," *Journal Asiatique* (1936), pp. 61–121.

⁵³ *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kiṣkindhā-Kāṇḍa*, 41, 10.

⁵⁴ *Kāśikā* on *Pāṇini*, IV, 2, 132: ṛṣikeṣu jātaḥ āṛśikaḥ, māhiṣikeṣu jātaḥ māhiṣikaḥ; the Nasik cave inscription of Gautamiṣputra Śātakarṇi, line 2: Asika-asaka-muḍhaka-suraṭha, -kukurāparata-ānūpa-vidabha-ākaravatrājasa (Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 231).

⁵⁵ V. V. Mirāshi, "The Spread of Saka Era in South India," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 26 (1950), pp. 216–222; for the contrary view see D. C. Sircar, "The Spread of the Saka Era in South India," *I.H.Q.*, Vol. 27 (1951), pp. 174–176; V. V. Mirāshi has given the rejoinder in "The Spread of Saka Era in South India," *ibid.* (1951), pp. 341–346. This discussion has been recently revived by D. C. Sircar in his "Presidential Address" to the Numismatic Society of India (Calcutta session 1955); vide *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XVIII, part I, p. 7. Mirāshi has given his rejoinder in his "Numismatic Notes" (*ibid.*, pp. 116–119). A. S. Altekar has also come to support Mirāshi ("Numismatic Studies and Researches in India," *ibid.*, p. 129).

Kuṣāṇa cavalry in the south and calls them by their old name *Tukkhāra* at a time when this nomenclature had practically fallen into disuse.⁵⁶

Sylvain Lévi goes to the extent of holding that the Kuṣāṇas penetrated into the Far South and established their sway in the land of the Drāviḍas. He adduces evidence in support of this view from the *Later Han Annals*, where it is stated that the Great Yueh-chih attacked the Kingdom of Tung-li and enslaved it. Lévi identifies Tung-li with Draviḍa.⁵⁷ But this view is contested by F. W. Thomas, who holds that Tung-li cannot refer to the Dravidian South since the use of camels is not attested there and the residents of that country are not so tall as the *Later Han Annals* state. According to Thomas, Tung-li is not a transcription but a translation of Sanskrit *Prācyā* (*Pūrva*) *Vibhāga* or *Prāgdeśa*, meaning "Eastern Division". This term is equivalent to the Prasioi, which denotes the *Prācyā* people or the Magadha empire.⁵⁸ Should this view be correct, we would get evidence of the expansion of the Kuṣāṇas up to the confines of Magadha in the east, which accords well with the tradition of the conflict of Kaniṣka with the rulers of Soked (Sāketa) and Pāṭaliputra recorded by Tibetan writers as well as the finds of his inscriptions at Mathura, Srāvastī and Sarnath and the discovery of his coins at Ghazipur and Gorakhpur. The tradition of the rule of the Muruṇḍas at Pāṭaliputra is avouched by the Jaina texts, which associate a teacher Pādalipta-sūri with a Muruṇḍa ruler, and the notices in the Chinese Encyclopaedia *Ku-hin-tu-chu*. From Magadha the Muruṇḍas had established their relations with Fu-nan.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Bilhaṇa, *Vikramāṅka-deva-carita*, XVIII, 93: Kālāḥ Kālāñjaragiripateyaḥ prayāṇe dharitrīm tukkhārāṇām khurapuṭaravaiḥ Kṣmāpaśūnyām cakāra I.-Śrī dāhālākṣīti-parivṛdhaḥ so'pi yam prāpya Vṛttam, Karṇaḥ Karṇāmṛtarasabharāśvādamantastatāna II. In mediaeval times the word *tukhāra* had lost its ethnic connotation and had become a synonym of "horse". It is well-known that the horses of Tukharistan were very famous. Hence the word *tukhāra* came to mean a horse exclusively in course of time, just as *China* in modern times means pottery and porcelain, or *damask*, a particular cloth manufactured in Damascus, or *mudra*, derived from the name of Egypt, denoted the flat seal in ancient Iran and India. In the *Padmāvatī* of Malik Muḥammad Jāyasi (1540 A.D.) *tukhāra* is used in the sense of "horse". Vide *Padmāvat* 42, 512, 5-6, ed. V. S. Agrawal, p. 544:

Karahiñ tokhāra pavana soñ rīsā.
Kaṇḍha ūñca asavāra na diśā.
Kā baranaun̄ jasa ūñca tokhārā.
Dui pairiñ pahuñcai asavārā.

ibid., 26, 276, p. 262.

⁵⁷ Sylvain Lévi, *Kuṣāṇa et satavahana*, *Op. cit.*

⁵⁸ F. W. Thomas, "Sandanes, Nahapāna, Caṣṭana and Kaniṣka: Tung-li, Pan-chi and Chinese Turkestan," *New Indian Antiquary* Vol. VII (1944), pp. 81-101.

⁵⁹ Sylvain Lévi, "Deux Peuples méconnus," *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi*, pp. 235-242.

The eastern portion of Kaniṣka's empire was governed by the Mahā-kṣātrapa Kharapallāna and the Kṣātrapa Vanaspara.⁶⁰ Thus we observe that the Kuṣāṇa empire under Kaniṣka embraced the vast territory from the northwest including Kāpiśi and Peshawar to Ghazipur, Gorakhpur, and Sarnath in the east, and the plateau of the Deccan. This big empire was the chrysalis of that wide and deep cultural impact which resulted and expressed itself in a word of such exalted and extended prevalence as *thākura*.

After a study of the historical and cultural matrix of the word *thākura* let us now approach its linguistic aspects. It is well-known that the Kuṣāṇas were a branch of that vast group of tribes which is called *Tokharian*. The *Asii* or *Asiani* were one of their constituent tribes and later came to be identified with them. In India the *Asii* were called *ṛṣika* and the *Tokharians* as *Tukhāra*. In the Chinese translations of Sanskrit works *Tukhāra* is transcribed as *Tu-ho-lo* and translated as *Yue-che*. For instance, in a list of languages translated into Chinese in 431 Guṇavarman substituted the name of *Yue-che* for *tukhāra*, and in his translation of the great commentary of the *Prajñāpāramitā* (*Ta-che-tu-luen*) Kumārajīva transcribed this word as *Ta-kia-lo* and explained it as *Siao Yue-che*.⁶¹ Another spelling of this word is *teou-k'ie-lo* (*teu-kia-lek*) which shows that the original Indian form was *tukāraka*, that is to say, it had an unaspirated guttural surd *K* in place of *Kh*. Another spelling of this word had a cerebral sibilant *ṣ* instead of the guttural surd *k* or *kh*. In the Chinese translation of the *Samyuktāgama* made between 435 and 443 A.D.,⁶² this word was transcribed as *Teou-sha-lo*, which presupposes the form *tuṣāra*. This pronunciation resulted from the confusion in the guttural aspirated surd and the cerebral sibilant.⁶³ The semantic use of this word denoting 'frost' is not likely to be concerned here.

The word *tukhāra* or *tukāra* is analogous to *ttaugara* of the Staël-Holstein Scroll, *τογαρρα* of Ptolemy, and *thod-kar*, *phod-kar* of the Tibetan texts. After the migration of the Tokharian-Yue-che in the West this word came to be pronounced as *τοχαροι* (*tokhāroi*). The words *tuo-kh-vālā* (G. *τοχοροι*), *tochari*, and its variant *thogrii* in Latin, *tukhārik* or *tokhāraṣtan* in Armenian, *twkhry* in Turkish, and *Tukhāra* in Sanskrit are

⁶⁰ Adris Banerji, "Eastern Expansion of the Kusāna Empire," *I.H.Q.*, Vol. 27 (1951), pp. 294-303; H. C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition), p. 473.

⁶¹ Sylvain Lévi, *Fragments de textes koutchéens*, pp. 24-25.

⁶² Paul Pelliot, "Tokharien et Kouchéen," *JA* (1934), p. 34.

⁶³ J. Marquart, *Erānšahr*, p. 239.

based on this pronunciation. Henning determines its pristine form as *etkhuāre*, *tekh-ūār*, *ta-kh-ūār*, *to-khuār* or *t'kh-ūār*. But side by side with this the spelling containing the guttural spirant *gh* was also current. The Greek *Taghoroi*, Latin *Tagare*, Sogdian *'tgh-w'r'k*, Arabic *Taghāristān* or *Taghārā*, Tibetan *tho-gar*, *tho-dkar* for the western Tokharians as against *thod-kar-phod-kar* for those of the East are instances in point. Henning fixes its form as *tughr* (Tibetan *Druga*) (**t'ghur*). According to him *yueh* is a rendering of *t'ghur*, *θghur*, *t'ghucr*, *θghucr*. In Uighur, which as a rule follows Sogdian in matters of orthography, the name of Bactria-Tokharistan, *tkhuār*, would normally be written as *t-gh w'ry*. Hence Henning holds that *tw'ghry* cannot refer to Tokharistan but rather denotes Qarashahr, Qoco, and the adjacent districts. But he admits that *tughr* is a variant of the tribal name *Tochari*. In fact, as Bailey observes, the *toghara* language is indifferent to the quantity of vowels as is manifest from the variety of vowels in the variants of the word *tokhara* or *tughr* noted above.

The above discussion of the variants of the word *tukhāra* shows that a final liquid *r* is attested in all the forms and that the medial consonant was *kh*, *gh* as well as *k*. Even in the Indian variants of *tukhāra* the form *tukāra* is known. This form *tukāra* presupposes *tughr* with a guttural sonant. Many languages of Central Asia have a tendency to replace the sonants by surds. In both the dialects of Ārsi the four kinds of Indo-European occlusives – surds, aspirated surds, sonants, and aspirated sonants – are reduced to only *p*, *t*, *k*. Kutchean, in particular, does not possess any sonant stops except nasals and avoids the use of aspirates, e.g. skt. *agaru* < K. *akaru*, *aśvagandha* < *aśvakānta*, *tagara* < *takara*, *bhr̥ṅgarāja* < *pr̥ṅkarac*, *yoga* < *yoka*.⁶⁴ Similarly Sogdian had no sonants, though it possessed the spirants γ, δ, β. Usually the sonants were replaced by the surds in it e.g. skt. *ghaṇṭikā* < *kut'ykh*, *nirghātana* < *nyak'tn*, *śivaghoṣa* < *sβkws*, *grddhakūṭa* < *krytkwty*, *gandharva* < *knt'rβ*, *gotama* < *k'wī'm'*, *gotra* < *kwtr*, *mahādeva* < *my'tyβ*, *mahāsamudra* < *my'-nsm'wtry*.⁶⁵ This feature is noticeable in a dialect of Paisāci called *Cūlikā-Paisāci*. Hemacandra in his *Siddha-hema-candra-śabdānuśāsana* (IV, 325) describes this feature in the rule *cūlikā-paisācike ṛṭīya-turyayo-rādyā- dvitīyau*.⁶⁶ Commenting on this rule he observes: *cūlikā-paisācike vargāṇām ṛṭīyaturyayoḥ sthāne yathāsaṅkhyamādyadvitīyau bhavataḥ. nagaram* < *nakaram*, *mārgaṇaḥ* < *makkano*, *giritāṭam* < *kiritaṭam*,

⁶⁴ Sylvain Lévi, *Fragments de textes koutchéens*, p. 160.

⁶⁵ E. Benveniste, *Textes sogdiens*, pp. 255–260.

⁶⁶ Hemacandra's *Kumāra-pāla-carita* (Prākṛta-dvyāśrayakāvya), ed. P. L. Vaidya, p. 593.

meghaḥ < *mekho*, *vyāghraḥ* < *vakkho*, *gharmaḥ* < *khammo*, *rājā* < *rācā*, *jarjaram* < *caccaram*, *jīmūtaḥ* < *cīmūto*, *nirjaraḥ* < *niccharo*, *jharjaraḥ* < *chaccharo*, *ṭaḍāgam* < *taṭākam*, *maṇḍalam* < *maṇṭalam*, *ḍamarukaḥ* < *ṭamaruko*, *gāḍham* < *kāṭham*, *ṣaṇḍaḥ* < *saṇṭho*, *dhakkā* < *ṭhakkā*, *madanaḥ* < *matano*, *kandarpah* < *kantappo*, *dāmodaraḥ* < *tāmotaro*, *madhuram* < *mathuram*, *bāndhavaḥ* < *panthavo*, *dhūli* < *thūli*, *bālakaḥ* < *pālako*, *rabhasaḥ* < *raphaso*, *rambhā* < *ramphā*, *bhagavati* < *phakavati*, *niyojitam* < *niyocitam*. *Kvacillākṣaṇi kasyāpi*. ‘*paḍimā*’ ityasya *sthāne* ‘*paṭimā*’. ‘*dāḍhā*’ ityasya *sthāne* ‘*tāthā*’. Like Hemacandra, Vararuci in his *Prākṛtaprakāśa* makes a reference to this feature in his aphorism *vargāṇām trīyacaturthayorayujoranādyorādyau*.⁶⁷ Thus according to Vararuci the initial and conjunct sonants are not changed into surds, whereas in the opinion of Hemacandra the change takes place in all cases.

The word *cūlikā* or *cūlika* is a variant of *śūlika* which represents the Chinese *Su-li*, that is based on an original **sūlik* < **suwōik*, an eastern and southern dialectical form of Sogdian **sughōik*⁶⁸ and *cūlikā-paiśāci* was a variety of north-western dialect spoken by the Sogdians. It has been shown by P. C. Bagchi that the Sogdians penetrated deeply into Indian population and culture following their far-flung commercial contacts. The *Sulki* rājputs of the Shāhpur district, the *Solgi* and *Solkah* jats of the Multān region and the *Sud*, *Suda* or *Sudgi* of Amritsar, Ludhiana, and Macchiwara in the Punjab, at present, and the *Cālukyās* of the Deccan and the *Solankis* of Gujrat in ancient times, appear to be the remnants of the Sogdians who came and settled in India.⁶⁹ It may also be suggested that the name of the famous city of *Mathurā* whose ancient name had the aspirated dental sonant ‘*dh*’ e.g. in the form *Madhuvana*, and which has assumed its present form in accordance with the rule of *cūlikā-paiśāci*, noted above, betrays a Sogdian influence that bespeaks the settlement of the Sogdians in Middle India.

Thus it is clear that the form *tukāra* having a guttural surd instead of a sonant shows a Sogdian influence. Evidently it was from Sogdiana and and through her people that this form became current in India.

Ordinarily in Prākṛt the medial surds and sonants k, g, c, j, t, d, p disappear, e.g. *mukula* < *maūlo*, *nakula* < *ṇaūlam*, *sāgara* < *sāaro*, *nagara* < *ṇaaram*.⁷⁰ But since in *cūlikā-paiśāci* the sonant is transformed

⁶⁷ Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa* (X, 3), ed. P. L. Vaidya, p. 111.

⁶⁸ Robert Gauthiot, *Essai de Grammaire sogdienne*, p. vi.

⁶⁹ P. C. Bagchi, “*Sūlika, cūlika and cūlikā-paiśāci*,” in *India and Central Asia*, pp. 146-147.

⁷⁰ Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa*, III, 2, p. 30: *Kagacajatadapayavām prāyo lopah*; Hemacandra, VIII, 1, p. 177: *Ka-ga-ca-ja-ta-da-pa-ya-vām prāyo luk*.

into a surd and that surd retains its sound, the said rule of ordinary Prākṛts, *Mahārāṣṭrī* or *Śaurasēnī* has no application. Hence there is no grammatical or philological difficulty in the form *tukāra* or its variants.

As regards the vowel of the first consonant in the word under consideration it is clear from the analysis of Henning that it was not universally *u*. The forms *t-kh-ūār* and *t-a-khūār* have no such *u*. That these forms were actually in use is manifest from the forms *takoraioi*, *tagara*, *thagora* used by Ptolemy and *tazora*, *tahora* on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, north of Alexandria Bucefalos. Thus it is certain that the vowel of the initial consonant was *a*. In this way a variant of *tukhara* was *takara*. As for the cerebralization of the dental surd there are numerous instances of such change in Prakṛt. We know full well how the dental in the word *Pattana* becomes *ṭ* and results in *Pāṭana* and survives in the name *Aṇahillapāṭaṇa*. This phenomenon has been noticed by ancient grammarians also. Vararuci formulates a special rule to explain this change.⁷¹ According to him 'rt' usually becomes 'ṭ', though there are also certain exceptions to this rule.⁷² Hemacandra notes the cerebralisation of the initial dental surds in some words, e.g. *tagara* < *ṭayara*, *trasara* < *ṭasara*, *tūvara* < *ṭūvara*.⁷³ In modern Sindhi this feature is very prominent and connects it directly with Vṛācaḍa Apabhramśa, e.g. skt. *tāmra* < Hindi *tāmbā* < Sindhi *ṭāmo*, Hindi *denā* < Sindhi *ḍiaṇu*. Hence the change of *t* into *ṭ* in *takara* presents no difficulty and the form *ṭakara* becomes easily understandable. That the vowel of the second consonant was alternately *u*, *o*, *ā*, *u*, *ūā* is abundantly clear from the large number of forms cited above. Thus *ṭākāra* easily becomes *ṭakura* in Indian variants. That the initial surd becomes aspirated is patent from the form $\theta\alpha\gamma\acute{o}\rho\alpha$ *thagora*, noted above. In this way we get the form *ṭhakur* *ṭhākura* from *tukhāra* and its several variants. In this phonetic and orthographical change the basic indifference of the *toghara* or *tukhari* language to vowels has played a dominant part.

This word *tukhāra* – *ṭhākura* is of Iranian origin according to Bailey. The significant presence of *gh* or *kh* in it is a pointer to this fact. Its wide-spread use from the *Urheimat* of the Yue-che in Kan-su up to the heart of Europe and the interior of India proves that it was the native name of these people.

⁷¹ Vararucis' *Prākṛtaprakāśa* III, 23 *pattane*.

⁷² Ibid III, 22 *rtasya ṭaḥ*, for exceptions see III, 24 *na dhūrtādiṣu*.

⁷³ Hemacandra's *siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana* VIII, 1, 205 *tagaratrasara tūvare ṭaḥ*. To illustrate this rule he has composed the following verse in *Kumārapālacarita* (III, 39) ed. P. L. Vaidya, p. 54:

Aṇatuccha-ṭayara-kappūra-dhuva-mahamahia-ṭasara-sui-vattho.
Kumara-vihāre patto ṭūvara-ṭaḍihāra-dinna-karo.

Our study has led us to the conclusion that the word *ṭhakura*, *ṭhākura*, *ṭhakkura* is a word of the Yue-che-Tokhari language and was brought by its speakers to India. Originally it denoted the Yue-che, but since they came to hold a dominant position in India, it was invested with a sense of prestige and respect and came to mean a chief, warrior, noble, lord in general. The long association of the Yue-che and Sakas with India and their consequent deep penetration into her population and culture made the word popular in this country. As a result it gradually lost its tribal or territorial connotation as the words *dahyu-dasyu* and *śūdra* had done earlier. From being a synonym of 'lord' or 'chief' it was but one step to signify a man of the high caste – kṣatriyas or Brāhmaṇas – and at last to stand for the highest divine power. Thus the semantic difficulty in respect of this word melts away, as there are numerous instances of tribal names becoming common titles.

To sum up, the word *ṭhākura* is a link connecting Indian culture with the vast Eurasian Tokhārian world. It is a symbol of the deep imprint left by the Tokharians on Indian culture, and is also an indication of the marvellous assimilative character of Indian civilization.

REVIEWS

Nils Simonsson, *Indo-Tibetische Studien*. Die Methoden der tibetischen Übersetzer, untersucht im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung ihrer Übersetzungen für die Sanskritphilologie, I (Uppsala, 1957). Preis 25 Schw. Kr.

In dieser sehr eingehenden und sorgfältigen Publikation hat Dr. Simonsson ein erstes Ergebnis seiner mehrjährigen Untersuchungen über den Wert der tibetischen Übersetzungen für die Sanskritphilologie veröffentlicht. Bekanntlich stellt das Studium der tibetischen Literatur praktisch einen Zweig der indologischen Forschungen dar, weil die tibetischen Übersetzungen buddhistischer Texte sich schon früh als nützliche Hilfsmittel bei der philologischen Bearbeitung indischer Texte erwiesen. Die besondere Treue dieser tibetischen Übertragungen führte bisweilen sogar zu einer zu hohen Einschätzung derselben. Eine Gesamtuntersuchung der von den tibetischen Übersetzern gefolgten Methode lag aber bisher nicht vor. Als Vorarbeiten dazu sind vornehmlich einige Untersuchungen Friedrich Wellers, Hermann Beckhs Meghadūta-Arbeiten, Johannes Nobels Ausgaben des Suvarṇaprabhāsa und die Publikationen desselben Gelehrten über die Udrāyaṇa-Legende zu betrachten. Es ist Dr. Simonssons Verdienst diese Untersuchung in Angriff genommen und damit eine feste Grundlage für die objektive Einschätzung und die weitere philologische Bearbeitung der Übersetzungsliteratur geschaffen zu haben. Er ist dabei mit Recht überzeugt, dass erst die Gegenüberstellung der erhaltenen Sanskrittexte und der tibetischen Übersetzungen zu einem rechten Verständnis der letzteren führen kann, und dass viele solche Untersuchungen über Texte verschiedener Art angestellt werden müssen, bevor sich die Übersetzungssprache in ihrer Gesamtheit erfassen lässt.

Den grössten Teil des vorliegenden Buches (SS. 13-177) bildet eine sehr eingehende – bisweilen jedoch etwas zu ausführliche und sich allzu sehr auf Einzelheiten einlassende – Untersuchung des Saddharmapuṇḍarīka. Ein wichtiges Ergebnis derselben ist die Feststellung des Verhältnisses zwischen einer älteren Übertragung, in welcher die Zeilenfolge der Sanskritvorlage beibehalten wurde, wodurch Verstösze gegen die tibetische Syntax zustande kamen, und einer jüngeren, nicht völlig neuen, sondern revidierten Fassung desselben Textes, die von der älteren beträchtlich abweicht, besonders weil man durch eine Umstellung der Zeilenfolge eine annehmbare Syntax erzielen wollte. Ausserdem haben die Revisoren oft neue tibetische Äquivalente für Sanskrit-Ausdrücke gewählt. Ihren Arbeitsmethoden werden vom Verfasser eingehend nachgespürt und die Ergebnisse in der Regel auf überzeugende Weise dargestellt. Die Übersetzung folgte ursprünglich dem Original pāda (Zeile) für pāda, oft ohne Rücksicht darauf, dass die Beziehungen zwischen den pādas nicht klar zum Ausdruck kamen. Die Autoren wollten offenbar dem ursprünglichen Sanskrittext gegenüber so treu wie möglich sein. Später würde es den Tibetern zum Bedürfnis die buddhistischen Texte „in guter Sprache“ zu besitzen. Darüber gibt eine sehr wichtige Schrift Auskunft, das *Sgra sbyor bam po gñis pa*, ein im Tanjur befindliches lexikalisches Werk, das als eine Art Handbuch der Übersetzungskunst zu betrachten ist. Dieser Text wird von Dr. Simonsson im vierten Kapitel untersucht, und die Einleitung desselben, die wegen

der dort erwähnten allgemeinen Prinzipien wichtig ist, abgedruckt, kommentiert und – in einer von der von Alfonzo Ferrari, *Arthaviniscaya* (Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1944), p. 538 f. gegebenen Übersetzung beträchtlich abweichender Weise – übertragen. Nachdem, wahrscheinlich im Jahre 814, einige „Gelehrten vom Westen“ und einige tibetische Gelehrten und Sprachmeister die aus dem Sanskrit ins Tibetische übersetzten Termini, auf höhern Befehl und ne varietur, festgelegt und zu einem Register zusammengestellt hatten, wurde in der Folgezeit eine Revision vorgenommen: das genannte Register wurde erweitert und die beim Übersetzen zu verwendenden Wörter in Einklang gebracht mit den in den Texten von Mahāyāna und Hīnayāna gefundenen und in den Büchern der grossen Gelehrten (Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu usw.) erklärten Termini. Die zusammengesetzten Ausdrücke wurden in ihre Bestandteile zerlegt und erklärt, die einfache Wörter als Termini festgelegt, und das Ganze „in ein Buch geschrieben“, d.h. zusammen mit den bei der Übersetzung des Dharma angewandten Methoden kodifiziert. Ein königlicher Befehl bestimmte, dass man künftighin sinngetreue Übersetzungen in guter tibetischen Sprache herstellen sollte. Eine ganze Anzahl weitere Bestimmungen zeugt von der Genauigkeit und Gewissenhaftigkeit mit welchen die alten Übersetzer verfahren.

Das zweite Kapitel des Buches (SS. 178-209) ist einer parallelen Untersuchung des Suvarṇaprabhāsa gewidmet; im dritten kommen die mit den Übersetzungen zusammenhängenden Datierungsprobleme zur Sprache. Mit grossem Interesse wird jeder der sich mit den alten Übersetzungen von Sanskrittexten in andere asiatische Sprachen beschäftigt hat dem Erscheinen des zweiten Bandes dieser Arbeit entgegensehen.

Utrecht

J. Gonda

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